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THE CHRISTIAN CRUSADE FOR A WARLESS WORLD

SIDNEY L. GULICK

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THE CHRISTIAN CRUSADE
FOR
A WARLESS WORLD

BY

SIDNEY L. GULICK,

SECRETARY, COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND GOODWILL, FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

New York

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INTERNATIONAL IDEALS OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST[1]

1. WE BELIEVE that nations no less than individuals are subject to God's immutable moral laws.

2. WE BELIEVE that nations achieve true welfare, greatness and honor only through just dealing and unselfish service.

3. WE BELIEVE that nations that regard themselves as Christian have special international obligations.

4. WE BELIEVE that the spirit of Christian brotherliness can remove every unjust barrier of trade, color, creed and race.

5. WE BELIEVE that CHRISTIAN patriotism demands the practice of good-will between nations.

6. WE BELIEVE that international policies should secure equal justice for all races.

7. WE BELIEVE that all nations should associate themselves permanently for world peace and good-will.

8. WE BELIEVE in international law, and in the universal use of international courts of justice and boards of arbitration.

9. WE BELIEVE in a sweeping reduction of armaments by all nations.

10. WE BELIEVE in a warless world, and dedicate ourselves to its achievement.

[1] Adopted, December, 1921, by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

FOREWORD

"If the churches of Europe and America allow that to fructify," said Lloyd George in speaking a few weeks ago about the danger of another war, "they had better close their doors." "Better close their doors," for we cannot hope that the Christian gospel of brotherhood will come to men with any compelling power unless we can find some way to make it a reality in the relation of nations to each other and can prevent that utter denial of brotherhood which we now see war to be.

Convinced that the churches of America face no sterner challenge than to create a public opinion that will abolish war and build up international cooperation in the maintenance of permanent peace, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, through its Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, issues this appeal for a "Christian Crusade for a Warless World." The volume is planned especially for use as a course of study in Churches, Sunday Schools, Young Peoples' Societies, Christian Associations and other groups that desire to face seriously the responsibility of the Churches in this momentous issue.

The theoretical questions of "pacifism," this book does not discuss. It urges, rather, that all Christian men and women everywhere, whatever their views as to participation in some future war which may burst upon us, shall unitedly concentrate their efforts on the present task of outlawing war by building up a positive substitute for it through international agencies for the settlement of all disputes. If this can be done Christians will not have to be confronted again with the alternative either of joining

in organized murder, under the name of war, or else of holding aloof from a conflict in which vital issues are at stake.

This study has been prepared by Dr. Gulick in connection with his work as Secretary of the Federal Council's Commission on International Justice and Goodwill. It is presented to the Churches in the hope that it may play a part in helping them to engage more effectively in the Christian Crusade for a Warless World.

Commission on International Justice and Goodwill
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

INTRODUCTION

Mankind is on the march. It has entered a new era in its history. Are we moving toward a better world? Or are we preparing for another catastrophe? The answer depends on the seriousness with which the nations strive to learn the lessons of the Great War.

That War (begun August 1, 1914) came to an end November 11, 1918. It was followed by the Peace Conference at Paris which continued for about six months and resulted in the Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919. The United States refused to ratify that Treaty and declined to become a member of the League of Nations. This organization of fifty-one nations held its first meeting January 10, 1921. The Permanent Court of International Justice was formally opened February 15, 1922. The Conference on Limitation of Armament was held in Washington November 11, 1921—February 6, 1922. It resulted in six treaties dealing with the Peace of the Pacific and the competitive race of five great nations in their naval building programs.

These many epochal events have carried the world out of the old into a new era. The relations of the nations can never again be what they were before 1914. Forces of incalculable significance have been released. Prodigious, irreparable wrongs have been committed; corresponding fears, suspicions and hatreds between peoples and races have been engendered; new nations have sprung into being; enormous financial burdens have been incurred that must be borne for scores of years to come; industrial and commercial disturbances have wrought havoc to the income of hundreds of millions of workers; and, above all, we have elaborated new means of destruction of unimaginable power, the further development of which stag-

gers our minds as we try to think what may overtake us all should another war break out among the civilized nations.

We now, however, have a period of grace in which we may, if we choose, reflect on our recent experiences and learn, if we will, the lessons they should teach us. We are now relatively free from the excitements of war time duties and of war time psychology—those great disturbers of sane and wholesome thought. We may now examine dispassionately the essentials of our Christian ideals as they bear on international life, and as a nation among the nations we may determine our Christian duties.

But a new danger is facing us: the danger of apathy and indifference to the opportunities and demands of the hour. The widespread sense of international responsibility, so manifest and active during the Washington Conference, has subsided. Many are feeling that America's international duties are questions for the Administration and for Congress to handle; that we, the people, need not worry nor concern ourselves about them. It was, however, just this attitude on the part of millions of good people in all the countries of Europe before the war; this absence of consciousness of responsibility for international policies; this willingness to leave to a few men in positions of high trust the authority to decide those policies and to adopt those fateful decisions for the nations, that made it possible for the monster of war to break loose in 1914.

What the world now needs, what each nation needs, is a well-informed, well-balanced and well-organized public opinion which will require the statesmen in every country to carry out international policies of righteousness, justice, mutual helpfulness and good-will. For the creation of such a public opinion, there should be nation-wide campaigns of education, by which all classes of citizens may gain the needed information, secure the necessary viewpoints and develop the proper spirit. First of all they need to know the modern world as it really is; they should

understand how deep and subtle are the causes of war; and they should see clearly the practicable ways by which to remove those causes. In this campaign ways should be found by which to banish deep-rooted prejudice, suspicions and ill-will, and to create a spirit of brotherliness and confidence toward men of other lands and races. A substitute for war as a method of settling international differences should be earnestly sought, and the desire for co-operation in establishing the essential international institutions of peace should be intelligently cultivated. The war demon can be vanquished only when millions of men devote their energy, their brains, their time, to the establishment of world justice and the maintenance of world peace, even as they have in past ages devoted their energies to preparations for war and to war.

The time has come for a Christian Crusade for a Warless World. To succeed it must be more than emotionally enthusiastic; it must be thoroughly intelligent. We begin this discussion, then, with a brief study of our modern world, to which our first chapter is devoted. Chapters II to VII will study the ideals that will create the Warless World, as they have been formulated in the statement adopted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. In Chapters VIII and IX we shall study some concrete tasks to be accomplished, as illustrations of the way in which our ideals are to be applied. The crusading spirit that is to inspire us is considered in Chapter X, while a number of practical suggestions as to procedure and questions for use in study groups, with a brief Bibliography, are placed in the Appendix.

A Warless World—when it comes—will be a great moral achievement; the greatest and most noble since the dawn of history. But it can come only when certain great ideals are clearly recognized and practiced. Beneath all our efforts must lie fundamental moral convictions and spiritual principles to inspire national action and to guide us to our goal.

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THE CHRISTIAN CRUSADE
FOR
A WARLESS WORLD

CHAPTER I

The Modern Necessity for a Warless World

"If we do not destroy War, War will destroy us."

—Lord Bryce.

THE MODERN NECESSITY FOR A WARLESS WORLD

The world from which war is to be banished is not the world of 1800 or even of 1900. If we conceive the world of today in the terms of the last century, all our efforts, however sincere and earnest, will be fruitless. As well hope for naval victory in 1925, relying on the single-turreted monitors of 1863 as to expect success in establishing universal peace in 1925 by the limited programs of a generation ago. Inadequate then, they are still more inadequate now. Certain outstanding characteristics of the present day make the campaign for a Warless World more imperative than our grandfathers could have imagined.

First of all, we have become giants. Our deeds are becoming gigantic. The sky above and the sea beneath have both been invaded, if not yet conquered. The mysteries of matter are being revealed; unlimited latent forces stored up in the chemical constitution of matter are being released; unheard of substances of undreamed utility are being made. Energy beyond estimation has been brought under human control. It performs man's work and carries his thought through space. Transportation and communication by land and sea and air have made more progress in the last century than in all preceding human history. Our mastery of nature has practically abolished terrestrial space and all the physical barriers to human intercourse. Oceans no longer separate, they connect. We accomplish in a few days or even hours what our forefathers needed weeks or months to do. Steam and electricity have made the entire inhabited globe as accessible today as a single province of France was to Napoleon.

All these inventions and these acquisitions of power can be used either in the promotion of human welfare or in the achievement of selfish and destructive ends. And in proportion to the good they are capable of producing are the possibilities of evil through misuse. The unparalleled destruction of the European conflict was due to the application for purposes of war of the very inventions and discoveries that had in them vast blessings for humanity.

These features of our new era have introduced into modern life factors of enormous international significance. Races and nations long isolated are now face to face. Asia and Africa are at our front door. No nation can be isolated. No longer is war the limited affair that it was in other centuries.

All ancient civilizations lived on the ragged edge of famine. Practically the entire population of each land was engaged in raising food, but produced barely enough for the actual needs of the people. Modern science and machinery, however, enable a minority to raise, manufacture and distribute the needed food, clothing and tools for entire nations. The toil of the majority, accordingly, is now turned to the development of the instruments and the wealth of civilization, so that these have been accumulating at an increasing rate. Ancient civilizations were also ever subject to decimating disease. Epidemics and warfare kept down the population. By its discovery, however, of specific remedies for many disease, by its surgery, hygiene and care of children, and by its extended areas of good government and freedom from devastating internecine war, modern civilization has removed ancient checks on growing population. This vastly multiplied wealth and this increasing population have potent bearings on warfare. It is now possible to remove from productive industry large proportions of men in the prime of life and still provide food and clothing for the people and the *colossal armies* of modern times.

In these and other ways modern civilization makes possible the assembling, organizing, arming, feeding, training and handling of our huge armies. Never in history has it been possible for even the greatest military genius to do what every nation in Europe has recently done. It is no longer merely armies that fight but entire nations.

Modern civilization has likewise developed the instruments and technique of warfare to such a degree of intricacy that only prolonged specialized training can give proficiency in their use. Standing armies, therefore, have become not only possible but necessary. The wealth of the present age, moreover, makes possible the manufacture of enormously expensive weapons. The actual cost of modern methods of warfare are beyond the powers of the mind to grasp. A few figures, however, will indicate the stupendous resources poured into military and naval channels, and the almost incredible losses that resulted.

1. America's Expenditures for the Great War

(Reiley: "Disarmament," p. 29)

Military Cost	$24,010,000,000
Extra Expenses of Government	4,500,000,000
Civilian Damages	2,400,000,000
Government Loans to European Nations	9,760,000,000
Other Expenses	3,503,948,225
	$44,173,948,225

2. The Cost of the War to All Nations

("Direct and Indirect Costs of the World War"; E. L. Bogart)

Direct Costs, officially reported	$186,000,000,000
Capitalized Value of Lives Destroyed	67,102,552,560
Loss to Neutral Nations	2,750,000,000
Other Estimated Costs	99,339,167,255
	$355,291,719,815

3. Human Costs of the War

(Bogart: "Direct and Indirect Costs of the War," pp. 274-282)

Soldiers killed	12,990,571
Civilians killed and died through causes due directly to the war (estimated)	13,000,000
Total	25,990,571

4. Costs of Previous Wars

(Irwin: "The Next War," p. 89. "Disarmament," p. 30)

Men Killed: Nine Big Wars, 1790-1913	4,449,000
Money Cost of Wars between 1793 and 1910	$23,000,000,000

5. National Debt.

(Irwin: "The Next War," p. 85)

	1913	1920
U. S. A.	$1,028,000,000	$24,974,000,000 *
Great Britain	3,485,000,000	39,314,000,000
France	6,346,000,000	46,025,000,000

6. Personal Incomes and Government Revenues

("Treaties and Resolutions," p. 52, published by the Federal Trade Information Service)

	Personal Incomes (per Capita)		Government Revenues (per Capita)	
	1913	1920	1913	1920
U. S. A.	$364.	$730.	$ 7.50	$70.00
Great Britain.	234.	416.	19.00	100.00
France	185.	239.	22.00	34.00
Canada	180.	335.	17.00	33.00
Germany	149.	72.	8.00	11.00
Italy	110.	88.	14.00	12.00

7. Conditions Since the Armistice

("Treaties and Resolutions," pp. 46-50)

Army and Navy	1920-21
France	$ 357,940,000
Great Britain	1,081,244,000

*According to the figures of the U. S. Treasury, the debt June 30, 1922 was $22,963,000,000.

U. S. A.	1,751,989,000
35 Other Nations	2,076,867,000 *
Total 38 Nations	$5,268,040,000
38 Nations in three years since the Armistice	$20,000,000,000
Number of Men in Active Land Forces in 57 Countries (1920)†	7,566,500
Number of men who might be called (1920) to the Colors in Countries having compulsory Military Service	250,000,000

The development of modern science and education makes possible a unification of national and racial self-consciousness never before attainable. In a land equipped with telegraphic service and with newspapers, where every adult reads the daily paper, practically the entire nation thinks the same thoughts at the same time, and develops a unity of thought and emotion, and thus a power for national action, unparalleled in ancient times. It is easier for America, with its four million square miles and more than a hundred million people, to know the latest news and to act as a unit than it was for Attica with its fifteen hundred square miles and a population of a hundred thousand.

This increase of national unity, self-consciousness and patriotism is true of every race and people affected by modern civilization. Turkey, Egypt, Japan, India and China are all rapidly sweeping into the circle of the nations adopting the tools and technique developed in Christendom. They are accordingly experiencing the consequent changes of mind and heart and will. Never before in history were there so many strongly self-conscious and ambitious nations and races. Never was any ancient or medieval people so completely unified, organized and centralized as are all modern nations.

* Including Russia and Mexico ($700,000) and China ($115,460,000).
† Including Russia (600,000) and China (1,000,000).

The factors that have made the great nations greater and stronger with every passing decade have also been promoting fresh life among peoples overwhelmed in the turmoils of past race conflicts. Rising intelligence, wealth, unity, ambition, are characteristics of every racial group. Long submerged and relatively silent peoples are taking on new life and demanding new rights and privileges. Old supremacies are accordingly disputed. Those in power, however, usually resent the efforts of subject races to secure independence or even autonomy. No more significant feature characterizes modern politics than the rise of democracy in many lands and the demand for "self-determination" by many small subject groups.

The modern awakening of Asia, moreover, is an event of incalculable significance in human history. First Japan entered the current of Occidental civilization, and now China is following. Mighty moral, social, economic and political movements are started in India, due to the impact of Occidental civilization. Christendom is learning that it can no longer ignore Asia, even as Asia has found that she cannot ignore Christendom. What happens in China and Japan and Siberia and India is of vital significance to Europe. The long-asserted and unquestioned world supremacy of the Caucasian races is beginning to be questioned and contested. Will the West seek to maintain that supremacy by bare military might or by righteous dealing? The problem of world-peace is thus not one that depends alone on the relations of the nations of Christendom to one another. It includes as well the nations of every land. The Asiatic factor is bound to be of increasing importance.

Side by side with the rise of national consciousness and demand for independence we should also note a growing interdependence. Each nation is being bound to all by innumerable cords of common concern and growing resemblance. Commerce is joining all lands together with chains

of gold. Universal education in the sciences, history and philosophy, is producing an international mind. Postal communication, cables and wireless, with the daily press, carry the world's news to almost every hamlet of the earth. Religious, racial and cultural barriers are breaking down. Common ideals and standards and efforts are arising. The "international mind" is not confined to America and Europe; it is developing all over the Orient as well. The result of this vast amount of common experience, producing common reactions, common ambitions, common motives, is that the differences between nations, races and civilizations are vanishing with amazing speed. A common international life is rapidly arising, but not without having to contend at every point with the opposing nationalisitic movements already noted.

The Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament was a welcome sign and an important factor in bringing in the new era. By its agreements we see a forward step in the turning of nations from war to law; from brute force to reason in the settlement of international disputes. In the scrapping of mighty battleships, existing and potential, by three great naval powers, upon which hundreds of millions of dollars had already been expended; in the promise of five nations to keep their capital ships to certain carefully defined dimensions and tonnage; in the agreement of four nations to enter at once into conference whenever during the next ten years ominous difficulties develop with respect to their "Island possessions" in the Pacific; in the plans of nine nations to apply general principles of equity and good-will in their relations to China; in all these matters lovers of a Warless World see signs of promise and encouragement.

The saving to America by the reduced naval program made possible by the Washington Conference has been calculated by experts and published by the Federal Trade Information Service in its pamphlet entitled "Treaties and

Resolutions" (p. 56). Condensed and given in tabular form the estimates are as follows:

Saving of "Maintenance" in 15 years ($70,000,000 annually), plus interest	$2,089,490,548
Saving due to scrapping of 13 Capital Ships under construction in 1921	347,084,790
Saving on Dockyards, 15 years	200,000,000
Saving on increased cost of New Ships of increased size, had there been no agreement as to tonnage, during 15 years	2,322,419,035
Total	$4,958,994,373

But the Washington Conference was only a start in the right direction. Its achievement must not be overestimated. It left unsolved many serious problems. Though poison-gas warfare is forbidden between the nine nations signing the treaty, more than two score nations have as yet made no pledges, and vast preparations for gas warfare are still being made even by those nations that signed the compact. No limit was placed on the numbers and size of submarines and certain other auxiliary vessels. Airplane warfare was recognized as just barely begun, and no nation was ready to condemn this new weapon of destruction.

Still more significant for men of thought was the latent war-psychology of the "peace conference" at Washington. The war method as the final resort for settling international disputes was not fundamentally questioned. No substitute was proposed or suggested. Even when nine great nations were planning methods for curtailing expenses for war preparations, mutual suspicions, misunderstandings and animosities frequently revealed themselves, though veiled in courteous language.

The New World which man has created imperatively demands the complete abandonment of war as a means for settling international disputes. The Great War showed *what destruction* man can already cause, and forces antici-

pations of still more destructive ability with every new decade. Modern civilized nations face inconceivable calamities if the military system of the nations is continued. The experience of the nations challenges us to find some other way for settling international disputes. Religion—the religion of Jesus at least—demands the absolute abolition of war, for it is the complete denial of brotherhood. Reason and religion alike declare that war must be no more.

CHAPTER II

Ideals That Will Create a Warless World

1. God's Immutable Moral Laws
2. True Welfare, Greatness and Honor
3. Christian International Obligations

"I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live the more convincing proof I see of this truth—that God governs the affairs of men."

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

IDEALS THAT WILL CREATE A WARLESS WORLD

1. We believe that nations no less than individuals are subject to God's immutable moral laws.

When the *Lusitania* was sunk at 2 P. M., May 7, 1915, nearly twelve hundred persons perished. That mighty ocean liner had voyaged three thousand miles in safety and was nearing her port. A German submarine, lying in wait, fired the torpedo that hit the mark, and in less than twenty minutes all was over. But that twenty-minute tragedy roused the moral indignation of 100,000,000 people and made certain America's entry into the World War.

In every step of that tragedy the immutable laws of God were at work, the laws of physics and hydraulics, of chemistry and astronomy, of psychology and ethics. The building and floating of that palace of iron, the steam machinery that drove it those thousands of miles, the miracles of invention and ingenuity that created the submarine, the marvelous mechanism of the torpedo, and its terrible explosive power, and finally the horror and indignation that swept America, all conformed in every detail to the immutable laws of God.

This is indeed a universe of law. Natural law rules the physical world. Moral and spiritual laws obtain in the realm of human life. Every wind that blows, every sparrow that flies, every crested wave that tosses its foam into the air, every star that sends its shaft of light through trillions of miles of darkness to register itself for a brief moment in the eye of a careless observer, every event from the least to the greatest in every part of this limitless uni-

verse takes place in accordance with rational principles and immutable laws. Some we already know. Some we hope to know. This hope is faith, to be sure, not knowledge; but it is the faith of all modern men, trained in the schools of modern science. Nothing merely "happens"; nothing exists by mere chance or blind fate; everything that is, is the product of a rational process.

This is a world, moreover, in which every event is at once an effect and also a cause. Nothing takes place but has its appropriate antecedents and its normal consequents. If a farmer plants wheat he reaps a crop of wheat. Potatoes yield potatoes and barley gives him barley. The boy who steadily tells the truth will be trusted; while he whose habit is to tell the truth only when convenient and immediately advantageous will in time find a harvest of distrust. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," is no arbitrary rule established merely for the punishment of evildoers. It is a general principle working also to the advantage of the good. It brings beneficent results to loyal, upright and brotherly men in relations of fellowship and friendships, though it also brings disastrous consequences to selfish, disloyal, untruthful and unbrotherly men. In all this Christian faith discerns the working of that Eternal Righteous Will that lies at the heart of the universe and that we call God. In discovering the laws of nature and of human experience man is discovering the mind and the will of God, supremely revealed to us in Jesus Christ.

That the life of the individual man is subject to God's moral law has long been widely accepted, though many men and women give the matter little serious thought. We have been coming also to see that the principle is no less true of the relation of social groups to each other; and that we can have a happy and prosperous society only as the laws of God for social relationships are understood and followed.

Modern society, by the very nature of our civilization,

has developed extraordinary class specialization. Carpenters, masons, plumbers, farmers, engineers, printers, tailors, actors, ministers, teachers, carmen, miners, sailors; myriads of distinct occupations give to each group a distinctive group character. There is, moreover, an outstanding distinction of employer and employee. This fact of classes in society is an ancient fact; but never before were there so many classes and subclasses as today. And never before was the welfare of the whole of society so intimately dependent on each class faithfully performing its part and observing the moral principles of social life. The unrest and disorder so widely prevalent today is due in large measure to the disregard of important sociomoral laws by so many individuals and groups in our society.

The first plank in our international creed carries one step further the same general principle. It asserts the same reality of moral law in the relations of nations that has long been seen to hold in individual and in social life. It is as true of nations as of individuals that "the wages of sin is death." Whatsoever a nation sows it will also reap. Thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor; are moral laws that apply to nations no less than to individuals.

The existence of more or less compact and largely independent groups of men which we call nations is a fact of enormous significance in human history. These aggregations of human beings, feeling keenly their kinship, have come into existence because of geographical barriers that have interfered with wide intercourse, with continuous intermarriage, and with the interplay of economic forces. Each group, living practically by itself, developed its own food supplies, its own social customs of every kind, its own language and its own ideals of values and pleasures. Through isolation they lost their sense of kinship, of common needs, interests and responsibilities. Mutual ignorance, misunderstandings and prejudices developed. Each

has sought to maintain its separate existence and to secure its own private interests of one kind or another. Each has thought of the rest as fair game for plunder. Hence came wars. Human history is largely a record of fratricidal strife. Wrongs followed wrongs. Revenge brought revenge, cruelty and repeated retaliation.

To appreciate this long history of a warring world, due emphasis must be placed upon the factor of geographical barriers. These have been the chief conditioning causes producing national groups; the chief races, languages and cultures and the sixty or more distinct states or governments that have political dealings with each other. The physical, climatic and other external conditions of the life of each group have had enormous effect in determining their physical characteristics, their habits, their thoughts and their higher developments. Long continued, close interbreeding of relatively small groups of men have produced many types, many forms and many appearances of men, as well as many varieties of language and customs, arts, morals and religions, all interplaying with each other to produce the distinctive culture of each group.

Individuals reared in one group feel strange and unhappy if by accident or by force they are separated from it. Loyalty of all individuals to the group in which they were born and reared is one of the striking facts in human history that lie deep when we search for the causes of a warring world. All men love liberty; liberty, namely, to live the life to which they have become accustomed from infancy, free from the constraint or external compulsion of an alien people, language and culture.

Modern civilization, however, has completely vanquished the barriers of rivers, mountains, seas and oceans. Nations and races are now face to face as never before in history. They are rapidly intermixing. Their interests and welfare are, in fact, inextricably conjoined. They have become vitally interdependent. Yet the barriers of mind and

heart, of race and color, ignorance and prejudice, language and culture, trade and religion, still prevail, leading to ill-will, deep and bitter, to haughty arrogance and to many injustices. Those who seek a Warless World should study with care these facts of the modern world. For these are the elemental factors out of which wars spring. To banish war from the world of men, some force must be found able to overcome the barriers of the spirit, to conquer the prejudices of creed and color, to banish the spirit of selfishness in trade, and to abolish the aggressive ambitions of nations to rule, dominate, and exploit.

Now our Christian international ideals affirm the domination even over nations of God's moral laws. They declare that in their organized group life men are moral agents; that their prosperity or their disaster depends upon their moral conduct in relation with other nations and races.

History is full of the records of nations that once flourished and then perished. They perished because they violated in one way or another God's immutable laws; some physical, some hygienic, some political, some moral. In many cases, no doubt, they did not know that they were violating the laws of God, but transgression brought its inevitable result just as truly as in the case of millions of men who have innocently perished because they were ignorant of God's immutable laws of health.

Some writers have flatly denied that moral laws have any application to nations. As between nations the only laws that hold, they insist, are the laws of force, the laws of economic and of military power. Law, they explain, is an expression of will, and since there is nothing higher than a nation it is sovereign and therefore free to do what it chooses within the limits of its physical power. "The State can do no wrong" and "might makes right" are two of the common phrases that express this idea. Professor Treitschke expressed these ideas in trenchant form when in his "Politik" he declared:

"The end all and be all of a State is power."

"The State's highest moral duty is to increase its power."

"The State is justified in making conquests whenever its own advantage seems to require additional territory."

"The State is the sole judge of the morality of its action. It is in fact above morality. . . . Whatever is necessary is moral. . . . Treaty rights are never absolute rights; they are of human origin. . . . In this case, infringement of the rights appears morally justifiable."

"In fact, the State is a law unto itself. Weak nations have not the same right to live as powerful and vigorous nations."

Similar quotations in large number can be made not only from other German writers but from militaristic writers in every land. Even in America certain writers have expressed substantially the same views. "World Empire," said the *Seven Seas* in 1915, "is the only logical and natural aim of a nation. . . . Pacifism is the masculine and humanitarianism is the feminine manifestation of national degeneracy. It is the absolute right of a nation to live to its fullest intensity, to expand, to found colonies, to get richer and richer by any proper means, such as armed conquest, commerce and diplomacy."

"All nations are and must be selfish," wrote the Washington *Herald* in 1916. "Bombs and dollars are the only things that count today. We have plenty of one. Let us lay in a good supply of the other and blast a path to world leadership as soon as an opportunity presents itself."

"We desire to be a great nation and to have our 'place in the sun'. . . . Our aspirations in this respect are not a whit different from those that Germany has published broadcast to the world." [1]

"The survival of the fittest" has been interpreted as equivalent to "the survival of the strongest" and this has been understood in a purely physical sense. Darwin's teaching has been distorted and then appealed to in support

[1] "Library of Christian Co-operation," Vol. III, p. 143, issued by *the Federal Council* of Churches, 1916.

of a doctrine of national selfishness, greed and aggression. Underlying this "power politics" has been a grossly materialistic interpretation of life and the universe.

Such interpretations fail, however, to note that even from the lower standpoint of mere military power, practice of the moral law and obedience to moral ideals are important factors of power, while violations of the plain principles of international morality are patent sources of weakness. Illustrations of these principles abound in history, both ancient and modern. Nations lay up for themselves wrath and condemnation from their neighbors in the day of their defeat, for deeds of selfishness, duplicity and aggression. But the point here emphasized is the fact that the acts of nations—of our own nation—are subject to God's moral laws; immutable; unescapable. This is a moral universe and nations inevitably secure advantages or bring down disasters according to the character of their conduct as nations.

It behooves every citizen, therefore, to inquire diligently about the moral aspect of his Government's international behavior. It is indeed the highest patriotism so to do. Not a few of America's recent international acts unquestionably stand the test of close scrutiny from this moral standpoint. The return to China of the surplus "Boxer Indemnity"; and to Japan of the "Shimonoseki Indemnity"; the generosity of millions of Americans in helping to feed and care for Armenian orphans; the personal and national relief for the famine sufferers of Russia, and the similar relief for the famine sufferers of China in 1920; these acts of our people and government conform clearly and nobly to our moral ideals.

But how about our national behavior toward Mexico seventy years ago and toward Haiti and Santo Domingo at present? Can we satisfactorily explain our long-continued violation of our treaty with China which promises to give Chinese in this country "most favored nation" treatment? Does our treatment of Japanese conform to

the Golden Rule? Are we justified in our failure to co-operate in the Commissions established by the League of Nations for the suppression of the traffic in women and children; in opium; in liquor; and in arms to backward nations? What do we mean when we shout "America first"? Is the spirit expressed, Christian? Is there in it something of the same selfish animus that finds expression in *"Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt?"*

Such are some of the questions that need to be carefully considered when one realizes that "nations no less than individuals are subject to God's immutable moral laws."

2. We believe that nations achieve true welfare, greatness and honor only through just dealing and unselfish service.

The popular ideals of national greatness, honor and welfare are quite contrary to this declaration of our international creed. In the popular mind greatness depends on bigness; honor springs from great military power; welfare comes from wealth. These popular ideas and ideals are quite natural. They have been the ideals of all the pagan powers of pre-Christian and un-Christian ages. To them the greatest display of glory lay in golden crowns and purple robes; in vast retinues of followers and slaves; in countless processions of soldiers; and in millions of servile subjects. Such was the pomp and pride of the kings and emperors of Egypt and Babylon and Rome. And though this ancient ideal has been slowly undermined by centuries of Christian teaching as to the intrinsic worth and dignity of man, and although slavery has been banished from all civilized lands, yet the people still love to see marching soldiers and demonstrations of military power and regard them as evidences of a nation's greatness.

But pagan standards are passing. Christian peoples *begin to see how* hollow and meaningless, how dangerous

even, those standards are. True greatness of nations, as of individuals, springs from character, from the justness of their dealings and from their unselfish service. Even national welfare to be true and praiseworthy must be honest and just. However great the apparent gains of a nation, if those gains have been secured by fraud or deceit, by wanton war and greedy aggression, by exploitation of weak or backward peoples, those gains are poisoned.

Many are the illustrations of these statements that may be drawn from history. The slave trade that brought scores of thousands of African negroes to this country seemed for a time to add to America's welfare, as it increased the man power for much needed labor. But what a curse it has proved in the end. The disaster of civil war, the degradation of the manhood and womanhood of both the master and the slave, the continuing menace to our democratic government involved in much of our treatment of the negro today, are some of the outstanding consequences of that fateful sin. There is still, in God's providence, room for repentance and reparation. In a measure this has already come, since all slaves have been set free. We have now, however, to press on as a nation to see that in every possible way justice shall be done to our negro fellow-citizens. Thus may we redeem the honor of our nation. History is still in the making. Nations as well as individuals may turn from their ways of selfishness and sin to the paths of righteousness.

That there is hope for our nation we begin to see when we observe the important work now being done in behalf of better race relations by such organizations as the Commission on Inter-Racial Co-operation, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. In hundreds of counties, towns and cities committees of leading white and negro citizens have been formed for joint action in securing justice and better community conditions for the negro. The Commission on the Church and Race Relations recently established by the Federal Council of the Churches is undertaking to bring

leading white and negro churchmen into co-operative work in order to make the churches more effective centers of influence for Christian race relations. Other heartening evidence might be mentioned to show that the United States is awaking to its duty toward the negro race.

Our treatment of Asiatics is another matter that will severely test our national character. Our true greatness and honor and welfare will depend on what we do or fail to do in our relations with those mighty nations of the Orient in this time of their need. Are we treating them justly and generously? There are Americans who have only selfish thoughts and feelings as they look across the Pacific to those countries of Asia teeming with peoples of other races. Many are thinking of them only in connection with profits in trade and commercial control. How to help them and how to give them justice, does not enter their minds. And yet these are the deeds that will alone make us truly great and permanently prosperous and bring us lasting honor.

The figure of the knight errant is the most picturesque and most beloved figure of medieval romance. In the folklore of all peoples the deed of magnanimity was sung as the highest virtue. The Age of Chivalry blossomed with the tales of valor in defense of right, of succor to the defenseless, of service rendered without thought of reward. The Round Table with King Arthur at its head has become the spiritual heritage of the race. Cannot the same code be applied in the modern world of international affairs? The *noblesse oblige* of the strong state toward the weak; the willingness to let a right based on legal technicalities give way to larger considerations of mutual welfare; the purpose to seek justice before prestige, to fulfill duties rather than to demand rights—are not these the essentials of an honorable national life?

China, at the mercy of the invading armies sent to *suppress the Boxer* Rebellion (1900) was forced to pay

large indemnities, not only to cover the actual losses incurred by foreigners but to serve as "punitive damages" for her action. On July 11, 1908, our Government informed the Chinese Government that it would return the amount over and above the expenses and losses of the United States and its citizens. This was an act unprecedented in diplomatic history, for the United States had a perfect legal right to retain the entire award without returning the excess above actual losses. The Chinese Government expressed its appreciation of the spirit which had prompted this act, and announced that it would set aside the sum as a fund for sending Chinese students to American universities. One hundred such students a year were sent for the first four years and since then fifty of the best Chinese students have come over every year—a striking memorial to our act of justice and fair dealing. Twelve hundred students from China are now in our colleges and universities, the majority of them at their own expense. When John Hay, as Secretary of State, cabled his famous message about foreign concessions in China, he was putting into practice the spirit of the Golden Rule. The permanence of the "open-door policy" is due largely to its moral justification.

So of our philanthropic aid to the war-impoverished peoples of Europe before and since the armistice. America has become the synonym of hope to millions of distressed Europeans. What we gave has borne fruit an hundred fold in the hearts of those who had almost lost the desire or the will to live.

A full reckoning of this philanthropic aid is not possible, although general statements from the principal relief organizations will give some indication of the vast sums expended. For the relief of the Russian famine during the winter, spring and early summer of 1922, American contributions, public and private, reported by Mr. Hoover on July 16, 1922, aggregated about $50,000,000. Expenditures of the Near East Relief since the opening of the

war total some $70,000,000. The American Friends Service Committee has received and expended in cash $5,311,838 and clothing valued at about $5,000,000 more. The American Red Cross reports $264,500,000 as the amount it has expended in Europe from the beginning of the war till June 30, 1922. The American Relief Administration reported as the total of its expenditure for children's relief in Central Europe for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, the sum of $18,638,426.68 and for 1921 the sum of $14,371,094.56. The summary of the Commission for the Relief of Belgium for the six years of its operations show a total "Benevolent Relief" of $170,833,-801.39, and a "gross purchase and sale of foods and clothing of upwards of $1,300,000,000." By this aid about one half of the population of Belgium were saved from starvation. In his address before the U. S. Chamber of Commerce (May 16, 1922) annual convention Mr. Hoover stated that since the armistice, American charity to Europe has exceeded $1,000,000,000.

Who can measure the good this has done not only in the relief of suffering but especially in the promotion of international good-will and in the reconciliation of the nations?

But America is not alone in just dealing and unselfish service. For years previous to 1904 the boundary dispute between Chile and Argentina had threatened war. A territory of over 83,000 square miles—as large as Kansas, Minnesota or Idaho—was claimed by both countries. Finally, when mobilization was under way, an agreement to arbitrate was reached. The American Minister to Argentina acted with a representative of both countries to define the boundary which was accepted. To commemorate the peaceful settlement of this dispute, the two countries jointly erected the "Christ of the Andes" which stands at the highest pass on the mountain boundary. It was unveiled in 1904 and bears this inscription in its face: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Chileans and Argentines break the peace which at the

feet of Christ the Redeemer they have sworn to maintain." In 1908 a hostel for the rescue and care of travelers was opened on the pass as a further memorial of the spirit which averted the war.

Czecho-Slovakia is today showing the same spirit. Despite the losses of the war, despite the lack of most of the necessities throughout eastern Europe, the country is doing what it can to alleviate the condition of their less fortunate neighbors in Russia. The students are building with their own hands new dormitories to house Russian students. Already many have been taken into homes in Prague, the great university center, and everything is being done to reconstruct their lives on the old plane. And yet this work toward spiritual and intellectual restoration is being done for a country with which Czecho-Slovakia has no political sympathy, but only the common bond of need. Even the smallest school children are aiding the work by sewing garments for the student refugees.

3. We believe that nations that regard themselves as Christian have special international obligations.

What are the characteristics of a "Christian" nation and what are the special obligations that "Christian" nations should meet which non-Christian nations may ignore? From the standpoint of God's immutable moral laws, non-Christian nations are subject to the same moral obligations as Christian nations. From the standpoint, however, of the Christian nation, its obligations are vastly greater than those of non-Christian nations exactly because it professes to be following the higher ideal, while the non-Christian nation makes no such profession.

The case of a nation does not differ essentially from that of an individual. A non-Christian man is just as truly subject to God's laws of truthfulness, charity and purity as is an avowed Christian. The latter knows and

acknowledges the obligation and seeks to meet it, while the former may be ignorant of the law, or knowing it may willfully disregard it, or, though ignorant of the law as God's, may nevertheless instinctively feel it and observe it. Because of his very acknowledgment of the law the Christian is under special consciousness of obligation. Violation under such circumstances is universally regarded as worthy of special condemnation.

But are there Christian nations? What nation claims or can rightly claim to be Christian and by what standard shall we judge such a claim? In point of fact the popular distinction between Christian and pagan nations is largely fictitious and fallacious. A nation may for convenience be called Christian when a large proportion of the citizens are members of Christian Churches. But experience shows that though a nation statistically may have millions of professed Christians; though they may even constitute the vast majority of its citizens, yet the nation may not justly be reckoned as Christian if crime flourishes, licentiousness prevails, governmental administration is corrupt, strife between classes is frequent, and international conduct is insincere, selfish and militarisitic.

Is there then any nation worthy to be pronounced Christian? To be very practical and pointed, is America a Christian nation? If we are, how shall we account for the deep-seated corruption in city governments so repeatedly exposed decade after decade? What shall be said of the widespread disregard of law? What about lynchings? Scores every year, including the burning of human beings at the stake. What about our industrial strife? If America were a thoroughly Christian nation would we not have found some way to help Armenia, to protect her people from further destruction at the hands of murderous Turks? Would Congress have been so dilatory in dealing with the opium question and other questions of clear moral significance.

These questions help us to see how far our land falls

short of being the fully Christian nation which we would like her to be. Some of her deeds are Christian in spirit and nature; her long and notable peace with Canada; her missionary and educational work in many backward countries; the benevolent aid to Russia and China, to Armenia and Austria. But some of her deeds, judged by Christian ideas, are open to serious question; the war with Mexico; much of our treatment of Indians; certain aspects of our treatment of Haiti and Santo Domingo and the overthrow of their governments; the long-continued disregard of our treaty with China, and of the spirit of our treaty with Japan.

But the practical import of this article in our international decalogue is that since America is in fact to a large degree Christian she is committed in principle to the practice of Christian ideals. Forty-six millions of our citizens are members of churches. Surely it is their peculiar duty to develop a sensitive international conscience, to study the international conduct of our government, and to strive to make that conduct more and more Christian, increasingly truthful, considerate, helpful, just and generous, ready to go more than halfway in the settlement of differences, and always insistent that every difficulty shall be settled by conference and conciliation rather than by conflict.

CHAPTER III

Ideals That Will Create a Warless World—(Continued)

4. Removal of Unjust Barriers of Trade, Color, Creed and Race

"Christ alone carries love across the gulf of race and nation and seeks to make mankind genuinely one."

—ROBERT E. SPEER.

IDEALS THAT WILL CREATE A WARLESS WORLD—Continued

4. We believe that the spirit of Christian brotherliness can remove every unjust barrier of trade, color, creed and race.

Judea, nineteen centuries ago, was an extraordinary meeting-place of races. Jews and Samaritans, Greeks and Romans, Syrians, Parthians, Medes and Elamites, Cretans, Arabians, bond and free, all manner and variety of peoples, colors, languages, religions, customs, clothing, ideas and cultures were there, jumbled and huddled together. Each group was proud and arrogant and jealous. Prejudice ruled. Men were true and loyal to their own kith and kin, but little did they see to commend in others. Rivalry, strife, injustice, were inevitable.

But an extraordinary thing happened one day. A new and strange spirit took possession of a certain small group of followers of a teacher who had been crucified for his claim to be the Son of God, a King to establish God's Kingdom on earth. The men suddenly discovered that though they spoke different languages they could understand one another; that though they had held different faiths they could through their Master feel themselves as sons of a common Father. That new spirit crossed the barriers of race and religion, of color and creed. It created a common devotion to one Lord, their common Savior, and a living devotion to one another.

The earliest history of the origin and spread of the Christian religion, the Acts of the Apostles, gives chief place to that amazing experience of those men who burst

the bonds of tribal and provincial life and entered into the wonderful heritage of liberated, universal humanity. They discovered that God is no "respecter of persons"; that he gives His Holy Spirit of truth and love and freedom to men of every race and color, of every ancestry and culture; that in Christ, through the Holy Spirit, men are born into a new life of friendship, of outlook, of understanding of history, of conscious kinship to the infinite God, the eternal creator of the universe and ruler of nations, and that in Christ, through the Holy Spirit, there is neither bond nor free, Jew nor Greek, male nor female; all are equally privileged to enjoy the fullness of the life of a child of God.

So new and so fundamental was their insight felt to be and so revolutionary the revelation, that the first historian of the early expansion of Christian faith explained in great detail (Acts 10: 1-44) just how Peter, the outstanding leader among the Apostles chosen by the Lord, was led to acknowledge the equality of Gentiles with Jews in respect to receiving God's grace and blessings. Like all other Jews, Peter had supposed that God's special love and favor were reserved for the Jews; that Gentiles must first become Jews by adoption before they could be full recipients of His grace. Peter's astonishment found expression in the famous words: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons but that in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him."

In his letter to the Ephesians, Paul speaks of the age-old mystery of the races which had been hid in God who created all things, which mystery had been revealed to him by his understanding of Jesus Christ; the mystery, namely, that other peoples than Jews are fellow-members of the body and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus. Paul had come to see that in the providence of God who loves all men and all peoples, each race has its place in God's eternal purposes; that no one race is the *complete humanity*; that the full Kingdom of God in-

cludes all; that in this Kingdom there is no place for race pride, race arrogance or race domination; that in God's manifold wisdom and eternal purpose the reconciliation of the races to one another is involved in their reconciliation to God, all of which takes place through Jesus Christ. And in the fervor of his joy in this new and deep understanding of history and its most perplexing problem, he breaks out in prayer for the Christians at Ephesus that Christ might dwell in their hearts; that being rooted in love they might be strong to apprehend the breadth and length and height and depth of the love of Christ which indeed passeth knowledge and might be filled unto all the fullness of God (Eph. 2: 11—3: 19).

The religion of the early Christians spread from Judea to Greece, to Rome and to other lands, just because it proclaimed this all-embracing universalism—one God, one Savior, one humanity. Greeks and Romans, Medes and Parthians, men of every clime and color, of every education and status could accept this new faith exactly because it was universal. It lifted them out of narrow race and class bondage and put them in friendly relations with all the universe and with all kinds of men. It broke down and banished the fatal barriers of race-pride and arrogance, so obstructive to the larger life. It gave them a new freedom. The noble ideas and ideals and achievements of each people became the joint heritage and blessing of all. Each could take pleasure and pride in what others had done; even as sons in one loving family rejoice in the laurels won by its various members. The universalism of the early Christian religion had important economic consequences. It broke down ancient taboos of many kinds, economic and social; it banished injustices and hampering limitations; it let men live and work in co-operation whom race prejudice and religious arrogance were keeping apart; a co-operation of immense mutual advantage. It thus banished ignorance and fear and suspicions and brought reconciliations and mutual help along many lines. It enriched civil-

ization by bringing into a common life the highest intellectual and moral achievements of Jews and Greeks and Romans. It was this broader vision, this deeper insight, this inclusive joy, this wider and freer fellowship, that made the early church victorious as it swept from land to land and finally included all the peoples of Europe in a common faith. The stricter sect of Judaizing Christians never had the slightest chance of success, exactly because of its exclusiveness, its narrow pride of race, its narrowing arrogance of orthodoxy.

From the early ages down to the present, Christianity has flourished or waned according to its emphasis on this all-embracing universalism that spans the nations and races. Even today the success of Christian missions in China and Japan, in India and Africa, depends more upon its universal gospel of a common Father, a common Savior, and a common humanity with its rejection of race emphasis, than upon any other single factor. The American or English missionary who, in pride of race, hands down to proud Japanese, scholarly Chinese or philosophic Hindus, an Anglo-Saxon Christianity inherited from Anglo-Saxon ancestors, for them to accept or reject, makes few real followers of the Lord Jesus. He can establish by that method and that spirit no living church of the living God, who is no respecter of persons, of races. But the missionary who comes to a foreign people in the spirit of true brotherly fellowship is doing more than anyone else in the world to span the chasm between race and race and to help each to understand and value the other.

Few, even among the generally well-informed members of our churches appreciate the amount of good-will being generated between the diverse races of our modern world by the many missionary enterprises now being carried on in backward countries by the Protestant churches of America, Great Britain and Scandinavia. These enterprises are not only evangelistic in the narrow sense of the word, but educational, industrial, agricultural, medical and

philanthropic. The psychological results of these activities are to be found not only in the lands where they are conducted but also in the lands from which the missionaries go and among the millions of individuals by whom the gifts are made. Some, indeed, regard the reflex influence in the homeland on the spiritual life, the broadened outlook and the world-wide sympathy, as of even greater significance than the results secured in the foreign fields. While a full setting forth of all the facts is not practicable, and might be tedious, the following summary will indicate something of the extent of these activities:

The number of American and Canadian missionaries sent by all the evangelical churches to the Far East numbered (1918-1919) some 5243 men and women, distributed among the various countries as follows: China, 3361; Japan, 1013; Korea, 336; Philippines, 214; Pacific Islands, 208; Siam, 111. It is estimated that since the beginning of the nineteenth century about 10,000 American missionaries have lived and labored in those countries. During the year 1918-1919 American and Canadian expenditures for missions in China and Japan amounted, respectively, to $7,345,597 and $2,283,912, a total of $10,765,638. The value of mission property in those countries was estimated at $22,783,390. The total American missionary expenditures in those countries from the beginning has been roughly estimated as at least $110,000,000. These figures do not include the famine relief funds, $7,500,000 in 1921 and about $10,000,000 for ten years before that, nor the $10,200,000 expended by the Rockefeller China Medical Board in seven years. The total income of the Mission Boards of Canada and the United States in 1920 for work in all lands amounted to $40,276,200, while the total number of foreign missionaries reached the sum of 10,618 men and women, the native workers numbering 58,690, and the gifts for their own work by native Christians amounting to $4,876,953. These are eloquent figures, especially when one notes that beside

the figures here given those of workers and contributions from Great Britain, Scandinavia and Germany should be added if one would reckon the entire Protestant missionary movement from Caucasian to non-Christian lands.

The barriers most inimical to peace and good-will and most provocative of war in our modern world are political frontiers widely extended and rigidly guarded for the promotion of exclusive national trade interests. The existing situation needs to be clearly understood and deeply pondered by those who would establish a Warless World. For the powerful capitalistic, commercial and economic interests of modern nations constitute powerful factors making for war. A world really free from danger of war and preparations for war is unthinkable so long as selfish capitalistic and commecial combinations of "big business" and "big politics" rule the international policies of the nations. So important is this matter that time must be taken to consider it somewhat carefully.

Nations and national self-consciousness are developments of the past few hundred years, chiefly, however, of the last century. With the rapid development of the industrialized peoples of Europe, and of their productive capacity through the increase of machinery driven by steam power, trade between nations has grown to enormous proportions; the standard of life, also, of the trading peoples has greatly advanced; their need of raw material likewise drawn from foreign lands has arisen; extension of markets in foreign countries has also become vital to them; capital developed in one country has been invested in other countries in fabulous amounts. In these ways the industrial, commercial, capitalistic and cultural conditions in the advanced nations, such as Great Britain, France and Germany, have become intimately intertwined with and dependent upon their relations with other countries. The welfare of these advanced nations has become vitally dependent on maintaining their commercial and financial *opportunities* unimpaired. Each nation in seeking to pro-

tect and ensure its own permanent welfare, has naturally sought to control and, if possible, to get sole possession of undeveloped and backward countries which give or promise to give advantage to its economic welfare. "Big business" has seen these opportunities in foreign lands and has made its investments in conference with governmental leaders. These are the causes that have led to the partition of Africa among the European Powers; to Russian expansion over Siberia and down into Manchuria; to European "spheres of influence" and "special privilege" in China; to Japanese annexation of Formosa and Korea; to American aggressions on Mexico during the middle of the last century, and to quite recent developments in Haiti and Santo Domingo. These are the considerations, also, that have led to the high development of tariff laws in many countries, promoting trade development between diverse areas of the same nation, but putting heavy handicaps upon trade across national boundary lines. Each nation in these ways has been looking out for its own prosperity regardless of that of neighbor nations.

Experience shows that in this process weak and backward peoples suffer serious wrongs and injustices while their natural resources are being developed. Citizens of alien powers, moreover, residing in such areas, do not have equal opportunities for investment and trade with those of the possessor nation. Whatever then may have been the causes of war in ancient times—ambitions of kings and emperors; thirst for the glory and power of enlarged dominions; need of slaves; passion for revenge or even mere love of adventure—danger of war today lies in the amazing economic and industrial expansion of modern nations. And inextricably intertwined in this economic competition is the clash of race prejudice and race pride.

Germany, to cite a concrete illustration, had been successfully working out a vast plan of expansion by which to bring under a single political control the whole economic life of Austria, the Balkans, Asia Minor and

Mesopotamia. Germany's success, with the special privilege it would have secured for German capital and commerce, would have created fresh barriers to English and French political expansion, and fresh obstacles to English and French capitalistic and commercial development. These nations feared the concentration of such huge resources of natural wealth and human power in the hands of such an aggressive militaristic nation as Germany had shown herself to be. Germany thought the summer of 1914 opportune, by a short powerful drive, for crippling Russia, for destroying France, and for establishing her military and economic domination. The great tragedy of 1914 was due to these ambitions and fears of the great powers.[1]

[1] The above statement of the economic and political causes of the Great War is not, of course, an attempt to be a complete enumeration of all the causes. It is probably not possible for anyone to present them adequately in a single paragraph. In addition, however, to the factors named above four others should certainly be mentioned. Few Americans appreciate the German fear in 1914 of the then rapidly developing economic and military power of Russia and the Slavic peoples of Central Europe, threatening, as Germans contended, in a few years, if unchecked, to be overwhelming. This was one factor. The reciprocal moves of Germany, France, Austria, Russia, Italy, Turkey and Great Britain during the decade before the war in increasing the sizes and equipment of their respective armies and navies was a second factor. This competitive development of military and naval armaments played an important part in precipitating the war. Then there was the recognized imperialistic policies of all these nations steadily pushed by the respective chancelleries, enterprising diplomats and shrewd capitalists of each nation. And, in the fourth place, there was partisan politics in Germany, the Junker against the Socialist. The Junkers planned by a foreign war to destroy the impending victory at the polls of the rapidly growing Socialist party. For a fair estimate, therefore, of national responsibility for the Great War, all these factors must be given due consideration. Each nation must bear its share of responsibility and blame.

For a remarkably lucid and complete statement of Germany's responsibility during the last three weeks for precipitating the war *in 1914*, the reader is referred to Dr. Heinrich Kanner's article trans-

The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and the Treaty of Versailles were deeply concerned with the economic interests of the victorious nations. Not only were Germany and Austria to be humbled in the dust, but their economic resources were to be divided up among the victors—Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. In this procedure President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" were largely ignored, although they had been accepted as the basis of the armistice. The creation of many new states by that treaty, with new political boundaries and economic barriers, together with the subjection of minority populations to unwelcome rulers in many areas, has left all Europe in terrible confusion of conflicting political ambitions and economic necessities.[1]

Distinction should perhaps be made between the dominant interests of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan at the Paris Conference and those of the smaller states thus represented, such as Poland, Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania and the rest. In the case of the latter, while economic interests were well to the fore, perhaps the most intense interests were political; the achievement and maintenance of independence, the questions of boundary lines, safeguards, and the right of complete self-determination. France was undoubtedly concerned with securing a strategic frontier as against Germany and with having assurances of adequate indemnity. There were also questions of adequate punishment of those responsible for the carnage and the tragedy of the war. The multitudinous interests, passions and

lated in the New York *Times Current History Magazine* (June and July, 1922). It summarizes the four volumes by Professor Karl Kautzky (of Germany) containing the official documents from the archives of the Foreign Office at Berlin, published (1919) under the authority of the Germany Republic.

[2] For a vivid description of the situation in Central Europe resulting from the Treaty of Versailles the reader may well examine the second chapter of Lord Bryce's volume "International Relations."

ambitions of the scores of delegates and "experts" present from so many countries make it perhaps impossible to define exactly what was the one chief feature of the Conference; indeed one's view on that question will undoubtedly depend on the dominant interest of the person who seeks to appraise its character and results.

The Washington Conference, also, though immediately dealing with the limitation of naval programs and with plans for giving China a square deal, had nevertheless as its predominant background the economic barriers in the Pacific and the Far East which had been erected by the nations each for its own special advantage, regardless of the effects on the welfare of other nations.

The prizes of war today are thus seen to be economic. Should war in the Pacific develop, it would be a war to gain by force economic prizes that cannot be won by commercial competition, by conference, by treaties or by threats of war. It would be a war by one people or another to batter down old barriers and to set up new ones more favorable to the victors.

The fourth article in our creed for a Warless World is the assertion that all barriers that lead to injustice of any kind can be, and therefore should be, removed, and that they can be removed by the spirit of Christian brotherliness. The experience of history shows how harmful are the barriers of race prejudice and arrogance, and how even economic barriers serve as prolific causes of injustice, ill-will, animosity and hostility. The brief sketch given above of the causes of the Great War, and of the existing situation in Europe growing out of the war, shows how many and how serious are the obstacles to a Warless World. But we who love and believe in the ideal are confident that all these barriers can be removed by the spirit of Christ.

CHAPTER IV

Ideals That Will Create a Warless World—(Continued)

5. Christian Patriotism
6. Equal Justice for All Races

"Life from top to bottom is one. We cannot be Christians in our homes and pagan in our politics. The Golden Rule is for all nations. The Great Commandment is for all people."

—CHARLES E. JEFFERSON.

IDEALS THAT WILL CREATE A WARLESS WORLD—Continued

5. We believe that Christian patriotism demands the practice of good-will between nations.

Patriotism was revealed by the Great War as one of man's fundamental passions. It is universal; the possession of every people. It leads a man to wondrous deeds of heroism and self-forgetfulness. This ability of a man, writes Dr. Jefferson, "to rise above the claims of his family, to break the bonds that bind him to father and mother and brother and sister and wife and child and lay his life down on the altar of his country. This is not logic; this is not reason; it is flame, fire, passion. And who can measure the force of passion? Who can tell how deep it goes or how high it can soar! Look at those millions of men, every man with his back to his home and his face toward his flag and meditate on the incredible, immeasurable, unimaginable power of patriotism." [1]

We must distinguish, however, between "love of country for its higher spiritual aspects" and a narrower spirit which, for convenience, we may call nationalism. "Nationalism places the nation above humanity and makes the nation the final goal of all effort." Nationalism denies the larger whole, rejects the equal rights of other peoples and nations. It strives for national aggrandizement "in complete indifference to the welfare or the rights of others. It has no comprehensive world policy. Its highest hope is that its own nation may by some supreme effort prove

[1] "What the War is Teaching," p. 81.

itself master at last of all its rivals." "I now see that patriotism (in the narrower sense) is not enough," said Edith Cavell. "I must die without hatred toward any one." Christian patriotism sees the welfare of the nation knit up with that of all humanity. It has a comprehensive, all-embracing goal and a splendid, generous policy of mutual service and common development. True patriotism is no more inconsistent with true internationalism than is love of one's own family inconsistent with patriotism.

Now it is Christianity that transmutes selfish nationalism into the higher patriotism. Christianity lifts love of country out of its narrow parochialism, gives it the larger vision, inspires it with a spirit of world service and sends the nation forth into the world to bless and be blessed. When the spirit of Jesus takes possession of a selfish man, it transforms him. He now loves and serves his fellow-men. So when the spirit of Jesus takes possession of a nation, its selfish, provincial, nationalistic spirit will be changed into a comprehensive spirit of international good-will and service. And that service will involve sacrifice and perhaps even suffering. Certain it is that the reconciliation of the nations to one another, and their redemption from the sin and the curse of war, will never be accomplished by any selfish nation whose sole ambition is the acquisition for itself alone of this world's goods. What shall it profit a nation to gain the whole world and lose its own soul? For lose its soul it will, if it conceives the purpose of its endeavors and the reason and end of its being to be the attainment of merely selfish desires and ambitions. The true end of a nation as of an individual is service. To achieve its highest development and most noble self-realization, a nation must give itself to the welfare of fellow-nations. It must lose itself to really find itself.

Christian Patriotism thus has a program of good-will *for all the nations* and races of the world. It seeks not

its own prosperity alone but that of all. It thinks not of its own achievements alone but it generously recognizes the notable and noble achievements of all. It rejoices in them and appropriates them in gratitude. In turn it gladly contributes what it may of its spiritual gains for the welfare of the rest. It seeks to overcome suspicion and to build up confidence; it strives to overthrow selfishness and to promote generosity; it discourages destructive rivalry and cultivates helpful co-operation. It welcomes contacts and acquaintance in order to overcome ignorance and prejudice and fear, and to beget trust, assurance and mutual good-will.

The goal of Christian Patriotism is an association of nations, bound together by common spiritual ideals and ambitions of service, and achieving an ever-developing common life of beauty, truth and goodness. For just as an individual can achieve his true goal and rise to his highest developments only in association and in friendly interchange of service with other individuals, so a nation can achieve its highest ends and realize its true goal only in international association and service.

Plato long ago declared that "above all nations is humanity." Since that time many an imperial power has arisen and fallen. Many efforts have been made to destroy peoples. How imperishable a people is, Poland, Ireland, the Jewish race, and many another race bears witness. The program of Christian Patriotism for the world is not an imperialistic endeavor for the obliteration or the forgetting of national or racial distinctions. In the great life of world-wide humanity, each people and race should keep its place, preserve its institutions and maintain its uniqueness. Only so can it fulfill its true destiny, perform its part, and render its service to the welfare and the richness of the life of the whole.

Suppose the United States were to set itself deliberately and whole-heartedly to a full-orbed Christian program of international good-will, seeking to reconcile the nations

and speedily to achieve a Warless World, what would it do?

First of all, would we not scrutinize existing laws dealing with foreigners in our midst?[1] Would we not insist that they secure justice? That hampering and humiliating laws for strangers should be repealed? That "the equal protection of the law" guaranteed by our ideal and our Constitution would be really carried out?

Then, would we not examine with care all our treaties to see that they were being honorably carried out? And every proposed law, such as those which deal with tariffs and the Panama Canal, would they not be framed from the standpoint of good neighborliness?

Would we not also study positive methods for overcoming existing suspicions, ill-will and prejudice, and for creating confidence and good-will? In carrying out this program would we not plan some such annual budget as the following?

1.	Pensions for Cripples and Widows and Orphans in	
	France and Italy	$100,000,000
	Germany, Austria and Russia	100,000,000
	Balkans, Turkey, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, etc.	100,000,000
2.	Hospitals in Asia, South America and Africa	50,000,000
3.	Emergency Relief for Sufferers by Famine, Flood, Earthquake and Fire	50,000,000
4.	Universities in Mexico, Latin America, Asia, the Near East, Russia and the Balkans, etc.	50,000,000
5.	Colleges, Normal Schools, High Schools, in many foreign lands	50,000,000
6.	Travelling Scholarships for American Students abroad and for foreign students coming to the United States	10,000,000
7.	Physical Training Centers in foreign lands and Playgrounds in large cities, Gymnasiums, etc.	10,000,000

[1] *For* some details in regard to this suggestion the reader may *turn to Chapters* VIII and IX.

8. Systematic Constructive Education in America and in every country in the principles of a Warless World	50,000,000
Total	$570,000,000

Of course no plan like this would be practicable that did not co-operate in full measure with the governments and leaders of the peoples concerned. Nothing should be done that would offend or humiliate. Such reactions would tend to nullify the very purpose in mind. In some instances reciprocal activities might be proposed. In any case, the above proposal is merely a sketch of a kind of national activity that, where practicable, would have highly beneficial results. Certainly, offer of substantial aid at once to all the nations for the care of their diseased, cripples, widows and orphans, could bring only happy reactions.

If America should carry out such a program as this for ten years the cost would be $5,700,000,000. This is not much more than we would have spent on our Navy alone but for the saving effected by the Washington Agreements for the naval holiday. Compared with our $44,000,000,000 spent in less than our three years of war this sum is not large. The expenses of our Army and Navy for the next ten years is likely to exceed very considerably the suggested annual budget for good-will.

If one is inclined to exclaim at the huge sums proposed in this budget, let him note what sums the American people expended in 1921 for matters of insignificant importance: The Secretary of the United States Treasury estimated from the figures available at his office, that for the fiscal year 1919 the American people expended more than $12,000,000,000 under the following headings:[1]

Joy riding, theaters, movies, races, etc.	$3,000,000,000
Luxurious services	3,000,000,000
High-priced clothing, carpets, rugs	1,500,000,000

[1] "Christianity and Economic Problems," p. 47.

Cigars, cigarettes, tobacco, snuff	2,110,000,000
Perfumery, face powder, cosmetics	750,000,000
Soft drinks	350,000,000
Candy	1,000,000,000
Jewelry	500,000,000
Chewing gum	50,000,000
Total	$12,260,000,000

In the light of these figures the proposal to spend some $500,000,000 annually for promoting international good-will does not appear particularly extravagant.

In order to carry out such a program as this we would need to have administrators who are both wise and expert. Great care would be needed to secure the wholesome co-operation of the leaders in each country. And to administer these finances in a way to secure the best effect, should we not establish a Department of International Good-will with a Secretary of Good-will sitting as a member of the President's Cabinet? In making such a change in our administrative machinery, might it not be well at the same time to consolidate the present Departments of War and Navy, constituting them the Department of Defense? Perhaps it might be better to change the name of the Department of State to the Department of International Good-will, creating within it two divisions, with separate chiefs, one dealing with activities for the promotion of good-will and the other with treaties and strictly legal relations and duties.

But if America were determined to do her full part in promoting the reconciliation of the nations she would have to go further than the program suggested above. The mutual wrongs of many nations during past decades and centuries have been so many and so great that the people would have to begin their mutual reconciliations with gracious acts of forgiveness. But is such a thing really thinkable? Is it conceivable that France could *forgive Germany* or Germany forgive France for their

mutual wrongs during past centuries? And how about Russia and Poland, Austria and Serbia, Turkey and Armenia, China and Japan? Before any real reconciliation between these nations can possibly take place, something must happen; important moral changes must occur in one nation and another. And what part could America possibly have in securing these reconciliations, in promoting this spirit of mutual forgiveness? It is certain that none of these things can occur so long as the policies of all the nations, including America, are dominated by self-seeking ambitions. The writer firmly believes, however, that international reconciliation is a practical possibility, and that America might do much in bringing it to pass.

What then might America do? First of all she should carefully consider the debts to us of our Allies incurred during the war. With interest these debts exceed $11,000,000,000. The annual interest amounts to some $500,000,000. The debts were incurred while we were making our hurried preparations for the war. The money was expended entirely in this country for food and clothing and ammunition for the Allies which enabled them to go on with the war, holding the front lines till we could arrive. Those nations supplied young men by the million who did the fighting. They died by the hundred thousand in holding back the foe. We merely sold them a part of the material which they used. No one denies the legal character of those debts. But what about their moral character? Are those nations indebted to us financially and we not indebted to them morally? Which debt is the greater? Can they be balanced? Can America now afford to insist on legal technicalities and ignore the moral imperatives? If we do, what will be our moral status among the nations? Shall we be a Shylock, ourselves enjoying inestimable blessings yet nevertheless extracting the utmost farthing from stricken, struggling debtors. And how can we then help international reconciliations?

The suggestion has been made that America should cancel the entire debt without any condition or stipulation whatever.[1] This suggestion appeals to many as the ideal and, in fact, the only right thing to do. Were cancellation to insure complete reconciliation of the nations, few Americans would hesitate to advocate it. That, however, which gives pause to not a few noble-minded men in considering this suggestion is the fighting spirit that still dominates many of the nations of Europe, and the way in which they are still relying on large armies and still expending vast sums in their support. The mere cancellation of debts would apparently do little good. It would not change the psychology of hostile nations, nor put an end to their war-system, their war-spirit and their war preparations.

In the writer's judgment the true course for America is neither uncompromising insistence on payment of war debts nor unconditional cancellation of those debts. We need to remember that the real purpose of the American people in entering the war and in putting our entire energy into it without stint and without bargains was because we desired to overthrow the haughty autocracies that were threatening the entire world. We wished to make the world a decent and safe place to live in for all

[1] Some writers insist that even from the mere standpoint of economics, America cannot afford to receive payment, for the only payment Europe can make (as she does not have the gold) is in manufactured goods. To receive them, however, would ruin our industries. Our legislators in Washington are (as we write) building high tariff walls for the express purpose of preventing our country from being flooded with European products. A writer (*New York Times* for July 22, 1922) points out that since France is to receive 52 per cent of German reparation payments, and since these proposed payments have been radically reduced by the Reparations Commission, if she were required to repay her debts to England and to the United States in full she would have left over from those reparation payments only $300,000,000. France has already expended on reparations, however, some $8,000,000,000 and is planning to expend some $4,000,000,000 more.

nations. Our loans and our fighting were all directed to this end. It was a "war to end war."

Has not the time come for the Government of the United States to say frankly to all the nations of Europe what our hopes and desires have been, and our disappointments as we have come to know of the subtle forces and secret treaties and selfish ambitions that have controlled the policies of the nations in making peace as well as in waging war? Might we not outline the terms and conditions upon which we would be willing and even glad to associate ourselves with them in plans for a really warless world; plans for equal justice, equal security and equal economic opportunity for all?

The writer believes that a frank statement and a clear-cut plan would receive universal attention and acclaim from the peoples of Europe. In those plans, the cancellation of debts, the rectification of past wrongs and present injustice, the reduction of armaments, and the establishment of effective guarantees for national security and equality of economic opportunity would be vital factors.

Should the public opinion of the American people unite whole-heartedly on some such program as this, providing also for deeds of good-will involving the expenditure by us of several hundred millions annually, would not ultimate success be certain?

The criticism that Congress has no right to collect taxes for foreign philanthropy and education, and no right to remit debts out of pity for the debtors, misses the point. The purpose of these provisions and expenditures is not philanthropy but, in the strictest sense of the word, "preparedness." If we should spend as much on "constructive preparedness," in cultivating mutual good-will and confidence and in seeking to reconcile the nations, as we spend on "military preparedness," getting ready to destroy our foes in case of conflict, it is the former expenditures that would really count and bring in the largest returns.

Our international creed proclaims our belief that

Christian Patriotism is more than ordinary patriotism in that it demands the practice of deeds of good-will toward other nations.

6. We believe that international policies should secure equal justice for all races.

No affirmation of Christianity is more important or fundamental than that of the Brotherhood of Man. Logically it follows the affirmation of the Fatherhood of God; practically it precedes. It was the belief in and practice of the brotherhood of man by early Christians that was the convincing evidence of the Fatherhood of God to men of other races, classes and religions. The two affirmations stand or fall together. Vital belief in either carries with it as a matter of necessity acceptance of the other.

The modern church, however, has largely abandoned this fundamental and vital truth of the faith it professes to believe. It *talks,* indeed, of the Brotherhood of Man. But what of its deeds? These speak so loudly that what it says can scarcely be heard. What more colossal denial of human brotherhood is conceivable than the raging tempest of hatred and carnage that ravished Europe for four long years? What had the churches been doing during the decades preceding? If the brotherhood of men had been effectively taught by the Church, if it had been truly believed by Christians, and had been really practiced by the nations during those years before the Great War is it conceivable that the evil spirit could have suddenly taken such possession of the nations as the dreadful evidence proves altogether too convincingly? But the races involved in that strife were closely related; Germans, British, French, Italians, Austrians, Russians, all of them sub-races of the white race and all acknowledging their common faith in a common Lord. They constitute *that portion of* mankind that has longest come under the

control of the church and its leaders. Those nations have long called themselves Christian.

In this criticism of the churches we must not, of course, lose sight of the important distinction that should always be made between aggressive and defensive war. It indeed takes two to make a war, but the crime of the war lies upon the real aggressor. So long as human history stands and man's moral ideals exist, Belgium will be honored and Germany condemned for what happened in Belgium in 1914-1918. But this does not modify the point of the preceding paragraph. It is this: That in no country had the churches been preaching the brotherhood of man in such terms and with such insistence as to prevent war even between the most closely related peoples. The churches, in fact, had not been thinking of world peace nor concerning themselves with the way to secure it. They had not conceived of the church as responsible for the reconciliation of nations, for redeeming the world from war. These human needs they had not recognized as "vital interests" of the Kingdom of God.

Such facts and such considerations well nigh shatter one's faith and destroy one's hope. Has Christ failed? Is Christianity vain? Has the whole Church been apostate?

Still more sobering is our study when we note the prevailing attitude of the masses of Christians in Christendom to men of more distant races and of other colors. For centuries, with notable exceptions, Christians of Christendom have arrogantly prided themselves on their race superiority over the races of Africa and Asia. They have not only looked with condescension and contempt upon those races of different hues from their own, but have assumed that they were entitled by right to seize their lands, destroy their cultures, carry off their wealth, and enslave or exploit their peoples. This has gone on from century to century, until today we often hear the affirmation of "white race world domination." It was the

violent, militaristic, universal claim of *Deutschland über alles* that more than any other one thing roused the wrath of rival white nations. Yet it is that same spirit of race arrogance that finds expression in the slogan "white race superiority."

During the past few years the superiority of the "Nordic Race" has been asserted by a group of anthropological faddists. The distinction between Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean peoples may be valid anthropologically, but the alleged superiority of the first is by no means so marked as the faddists claim. Some dispute it altogether. In the form proclaimed by its chief advocates, however, the theory is highly offensive, and also truly subversive of the best elements in our civilization. According to these faddists, however, the Nordics throughout history have been the chief promoters of war and are thereby getting themselves exterminated. Perhaps this is a part of God's plan for setting aside a gifted, though selfish, race.

A new form of race arrogance is rapidly developing in the British Empire and in the United States: the arrogance of Anglo-Saxons. They are saying that the peace and prosperity of the world depends on "English-speaking peoples." There is, of course, no intention of arrogance or offense. Its advocates honestly and naïvely believe what they say. There is, however, only a modicum of truth in their slogan. The peace and welfare of the world depend in no small degree on what Germany and Russia do; on what Japan and China do; and on what France and Italy do. It is not wise or safe for any racial or linguistic group to boast. Already non-English-speaking peoples are feeling hurt. They resent our calm assumptions. While advocates of the solidarity of English-speaking peoples do not propose that Great Britain and the United States should use their navies and their gold to impose an Anglo-Saxon peace and an Anglo-Saxon *civilization on* other lands yet exactly that is the meaning

seen by non-English-speaking thinkers, in these boastful speeches.

If any people wishes to render its culture and ideals acceptable to other peoples, the very last thing to do is to boast. The habit of boastfulness is an evidence of inferiority rather than of superiority. Modesty is becoming in a people and a race as well as in an individual. "Let another praise thee" is a wise, though ancient, admonition.

"And if a stranger shall sojourn among you . . . ye shall have one ordinance both for the stranger and for him that was born on the land" (Numbers 9:13). Americans as a rule think that the alien among us is given a fair and equal chance. Is this not the land of the free? Have not millions of strangers come among us and found this country and its institutions so attractive that they have not only stayed themselves, becoming citizens, but have sent for their friends and kindred?

It is nevertheless true that multitudes of foreigners are not given fair and equal treatment. The laws in many states are both hampering and humiliating. In Michigan an alien cannot be a barber; in six states an alien cannot make a living by hunting or fishing; in Tennessee he cannot be a market hunter; in Wyoming he cannot be a guide; in Georgia he cannot be a peddler; in Pennsylvania he cannot own a dog; in California Japanese and Chinese cannot lease agricultural land. "One cannot read the hundreds of discriminating laws without a sense of the utter prostitution of American citizenship to prejudice, race hatred, greed, cupidity and to the selfishness of groups and individuals."[1]

But the situation is not quite so black and disheartening as first appears. The story of William Penn and the Indians is a bright gleam out of the gloom. The flaming zeal of men and women to free the negro slave

[1] Keller: "Straight America," Chapter IV.

and insure for him full justice and opportunity, and, since the Civil War, the schools and colleges established in Southern States to express and make real the faith of earnest souls in the brotherhood of man are proofs that the ancient faith of the Church still lives. The foreign missionary movement referred to in the preceding chapter inspires hope. For a hundred years from Christian churches, thousands of choice men and women have gone to men of other colors and races, to live among them the Christian faith in its early sincerity and purity. The reflex influence of these missionary experiences on the churches and Christians in the home lands is a source of new hope and a factor of great power in kindling afresh the ancient faith.

Among the many excellent provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations is one that relates itself directly to the sixth article of our international creed. It declares that "to the colonies and territories (of Germany) . . . inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant" (Article XXII). This is a new ideal for the nations of Europe. If this article of the Covenant is carried out in practice, it may well be called the "Magna Charta of Race Equality."

Whoever followed with care the deliberations of the Paris Peace Conference will remember the request of the Japanese for an article in the Covenant declaring unequivocally that as between the member-nations of the League the principle of equality of race treatment should be followed. This was not a request for an academic declaration of the "equality of the races." The request was nevertheless misunderstood and misrepresented. Many *suspected* Japan of seeking underhandedly to provide for

the free immigration of her people to America and Australia. The Japanese delegates declared that the principle they proposed had no such purpose; that the question of immigration was a domestic matter which each people must decide for itself. They insisted, nevertheless, that the success of the League and the permanent peace of the world were tied up with the question of equality of race treatment. Refusal to grant such a principle by any race was humiliating and aggravating. By this contention Japan now stands before the world as a vigorous champion of the principle that "international policies should secure equal justice for all races."

Our creed calls us to new effort. If we look and long for a Warless World, we see and we say that first among the specific items of our practical program must be "equal justice for all races." We must look at our problem and our task through the eyes of the alien, of the black man and the brown man and the yellow man. We must ask what it is that distresses his soul, that makes life for him bitter and the future dark. As followers of our Master we must take our places at the side of the oppressed and the despised, and even at the cost of personal loss we must seek for him the justice and the opportunity that we would crave for ourselves. And these efforts for equal justice must include scrutiny and control of "international policies." America should grant the same just treatment to Japanese and to Chinese that it grants to British and French. In the eyes of the law and of Government there should be "no respect of persons," no discrimination of races. America should as scrupulously observe its treaty obligations with China or Haiti as with Switzerland or Denmark. Faithful observance of treaties should be carried out as readily for nations that are weak as for those that are strong. State laws which humiliate the foreigners among us should be repealed.

The realization of these ideals in national practice, however, depends on the training and alertness of

Christian citizens. Sinister and selfish forces and interests are many and keen and powerful, seeking private ends regardless of right and truth and brotherliness. This is the reason why Christian citizens who are serious with the program for a Warless World must maintain that eternal vigilance which is the price not only of liberty but of every noble goal.

CHAPTER V

Ideals That Will Create a Warless World—(Continued)

7. An International Association of Nations

"Long before this war I hoped for a League of Nations that would be united, quick, and instant to prevent, and, if need be, to punish, violation of international treaties, of public right, of national independence, and would say to nations that come forward with grievances and claims: 'Put them before an impartial tribunal. If you can win at this bar, you will get what you want; if you cannot, you shall not have what you want, and if you attempt to start a war we all shall adjudge you the common enemy of humanity, and treat you accordingly.' As foot-pads, safe-breakers, burglars, and incendiaries are suppressed in nations, so those who would commit these crimes, and incalculably more than these crimes, will be suppressed among nations."

—Viscount Grey.

IDEALS THAT WILL CREATE A WARLESS WORLD—Continued

7. We believe that all nations should associate themselves permanently for world peace and good-will.

Federations of tribes and of nations have often been formed for mutual protection and advantage. But a new ideal has been growing for centuries: the ideal of co-operation of nations to secure international justice and thus to maintain enduring peace.

Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, proposed (1462) the establishment of a Federation of Christian Nations, having a parliament, a judicial tribunal and an international military force.

The frightful consequences of European wars have led earnest men of every century since Podiebrad to make similar proposals. Emeric Cruce (1623) urged arbitration of international difficulties in a general conference of ambassadors. Henry IV of France in "The Great Design" (1638) proposed a federation of the European States with a central senate, proportionate contributions from the nations to support an army and navy and the substitution of legal methods for the settlement of difficulties instead of war. He wished "to divide Europe equally among a certain number of powers, in such a manner that none of them might have cause either of envy or fear from the possessions or powers of the others." He labored to procure the happiness of Europe in general.

William Penn proposed a plan for the Peace of Europe by the establishment of a "European Dyet, Parliament

or Estates." He believed that the end of government was the prevention or cure of disorder; that justice was a means of peace rather than of war; and that justice was the fruit of government, as government was the result of society. He believed that all disputes could be successfully dealt with if only all the Sovereign Princes of Europe who represent society would, for love of peace and order, agree to meet by their stated Deputies in a General Dyet, Estates or Parliament, and there establish Rules of Justice for Sovereign Princes to observe, one toward another.

Hugo Grotius (1625) published "The Rights of War and Peace." "Of all works," said Andrew D. White, "not claiming to be inspired, this has proved the greatest blessing to mankind." It was the first great attempt to deduce a principle of right and philosophic basis for society. Grotius proposed conferences of independent and equal states in which their disputes, not otherwise settled, should be adjusted by diplomatic negotiations.

Kant issued his essay "Perpetual Peace" in 1795. The establishment of perpetual peace, he maintained, depends on the overthrow of absolute monarchies and the establishment of democracies in all the important nations. The world federation must consist of free states, self-governing and voluntarily sharing in the federation. The federation should hold its congress and establish "public law"; the differences between nations would then be settled "by civil judicature as between individuals instead of resorting to war, a means of redress worthy only of barbarians."

Kant demanded that the "civil constitution in every state should be republican" (by which he meant the political severance of the executive from the legislative power in the government); "that the right of nations should be founded on a federation of free states; and that the rights of men as citizens of the world in a cosmopolitical system should be restricted to conditions of universal *hospitality.*" (By "hospitality" he meant that a stranger

in another land was not to be treated as an enemy by the citizens of that land.)

These splendid plans and far-reaching ideals have never been put into actual operation. Certain attempts, however, have been made. One of the best known of these was the Holy Alliance of 1815, set up, upon the overthrow of Napoleon, by Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia, the four great powers of the day. This Alliance was founded on mutual guarantees to see that peace was maintained and that various treaties were faithfully executed. Its weakness was that no international administrative organ was created. But the main reason for the failure of that experiment was that its purpose was to preserve the interests of princes, not of peoples. The end in view was the guarantee of specific territorial arrangements, rather than a guarantee of international justice and law and the administration of general principles to be impartially applied.

Napoleon ended his belligerent career at Waterloo (1815). Thoughtful men at once began fresh discussions of ways to prevent war. The New York Peace Society was founded that very year. Many others followed. The American Peace Society was organized in 1828, uniting them all in a national movement. In 1840 William Ladd published his great work "A Congress of Nations," reprinted in 1916.

Slowly the nations have been preparing for the great step. The Czar of Russia called (1898) a conference of twenty-six nations to consider the limitation of armaments. His call was met with derision but it started a new era. One hundred delegates assembled at The Hague, May 18, 1899. The Congress lasted for three months and was well-nigh wrecked by German hostility. But a "permanent International Tribunal of Arbitration" was provided for; it was established by the nations in April, 1901. The Court soon decided several important cases and justified the expectations of its promoters.

At the Second Hague Conference (1907) forty-six nations were represented; practically the whole civilized world. Two hundred and fifty-six delegates unanimously passed fourteen important resolutions, one of which declared for a permanent international tribunal of justice.

The nations, however, have been so careful to maintain their absolute, unlimited sovereignty as to prevent the creation of an effective, international executive organ. They preferred to depend on promises and agreements without administrative machinery back of them. This system has proved insufficient to prevent their violation at will by any powerful nation. The violation by Germany of the solemnly pledged neutrality of Belgium at the beginning of the Great War is but one instance of the futility of the system.

Tennyson's dream of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world" ("Locksley Hall") has at times seemed near fulfillment. Besides the two Hague conferences, the frequent Pan-American congresses have met regularly. The most recent international peace gathering was the Conference on Limitation of Armaments held in Washington during the fall and winter of 1921-1922. But all these conferences have been characterized by a fundamental defect. They have not established regular and permanent organs of international administration. They pass, indeed, measures of international legislation. They set up ideals, formulate plans, make treaties and solemn agreements. They have, also, even established international committees and commissions for doing a certain narrowly limited work. All this is to the good. But they have not established broadly inclusive, comprehensive, thoroughly co-ordinated administrative agencies for doing the larger things that must be done by them all together if world justice and world peace are to be permanently secured.

The test of the sincerity of proclaimed ideals and beliefs is the conduct they produce. Vociferous affirmations

of the six splendid articles in our creed thus far discussed amount to nothing unless they lead to action. Deeds are what finally count, not words. Words are useful; analysis and discussion are necessary; ideals are inspiring. But they signify nothing if they bring no results in conduct. The acid test of a man's faith is whether or not he sincerely seeks to practice that faith.

Peace between nations, as between individuals, is the outcome of justice; justice is attained through law; law is established by an organized and an orderly society. A properly organized society of nations, therefore, is essential to a Warless World. Such a society must include all the important nations; otherwise its operations will not be universal nor its benefits world-wide. The spirit of such a society must be fundamentally a spirit of mutual good-will. Into such a society, however, no nation should be forced to enter, for liberty, not compulsion, is the very essence of justice and good-will.

In the winter and spring of 1919 the hopes of the world were centered on Paris. In the Armistice on November 11, 1918, all the warring nations agreed to make the "Fourteen Points" of President Wilson's program the guiding principles on which to make the peace. General justice for all was the declared aim. No root of bitterness nor seeds of future war were to be left. The "war to end war" was ended; the chief need of the world was to create the institutions of justice, security and permanent peace. A new organization of the nations was to usher in a new era of prosperity, administer the terms of the treaty, and assure equal economic opportunity and honor for all. The "Treaty of Versailles" was the outcome of that Conference—a bitter disappointment to millions.

The "League of Nations" was established, whose charter and foundation was the "Covenant." Fifty-one nations soon joined in it, and today it is beginning its work among the nations of Europe. Advocates of a Warless World

should examine that Covenant and ponder on the forces that framed that Treaty. After months of study, discussion, and a Presidential election, both the Covenant and the Treaty were rejected by the United States. Whatever one's attitude may be to the outcome of that long political struggle, one must acknowledge that the ideal of a world peace system has gripped the minds and hearts of millions of the world's best thinkers. All lovers of a Warless World are persuaded that some time, some how, somewhere, the practical proposal will be found on which all nations can unite and an all-inclusive world peace system be finally established. Without doubt, however, the existing League of Nations is the most inclusive international organization ever effected. The nations that compose it have pledged themselves to confer and cooperate on all matters pertaining to international justice and world peace.

Viscount Grey declared that the Great War came very largely by default. Statesmen were under no obligation to confer. There was no regular international agency with authority to examine the disputes of the nations. He indeed urged the statesmen of Europe to get together and talk over their differences; but they did not want to confer, and there was no obligation. No international agency, moreover, existed that could so delay the mobilization and the marching of armies as to give time to hear. Each war-lord felt it necessary to be first on the field to secure the initial advantage.

The League of Nations, however, is equipped to deal with just such situations. It has various specific plans for preventing war; for demanding arbitration; for protecting minorities and dependent peoples; for safeguarding health; and for preventing traffic in arms, in women and children, in opium and drugs. It has been created to supplement, not to usurp, the powers of the various nations. Its primary purpose is to correlate all the nations *in that great task* which they can accomplish only to-

gether. International justice can be secured and peace can be maintained by the nations, only when they act together. Behind such an international correlating agency, however, there must be popular support in every land. The League's strength lies in the "interest, support, and confidence of the public" (Sweetser).[1]

In concluding this brief statement about the League of Nations it should be noted that there is still a sharp division of opinion in America in regard to the matter. While some ardently believe in and advocate the League, others as ardently disbelieve in and oppose it. The latter hold that at present it is impotent and useless; that it has thus far accomplished little or nothing; that the powerful governments of Europe ignore and humiliate it; that it is, in ideal and aim, a superstate, based on force; that it will in time coerce the nations; and that instead of making for world peace it will surely lead to world war.

Some Americans feel that the world, being what it is today, makes impracticable an all-inclusive League having executive functions. They hold that the only wise and practicable form for a League that seeks to include all nations, at least in its initial stages, and perhaps for many decades, would be a body that has only consultative powers.

Manifestly this entire question demands careful, im-

[1] Students interested in the actual working of the League of Nations, in addition to consulting the "League of Nations Year Book" by Dr. Levermore, should not fail to read in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1922, an article by Raymond Fosdick summarizing the accomplishments of the League during its first two years of service. They will also desire to know of the *Monthly Summary* issued by the League (World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.; annual subscription $1.75) and the various pamphlets issued by the League of Nations Union (15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S. W. 1). An 8-page leaflet (No. 90, free) describes the attitude and work of the British Churches in regard to the League of Nations.

partial study. How is world justice to be attained and world peace maintained? Is the old system of three score absolutely independent, sovereign nations compatible with present world conditions, scientific, economic, industrial, commercial and financial? If some sort of new correlation and association of nations is imperative, what form should it take? These are questions of the highest importance for patriotic citizens and for loyal Christians. We must find positive, constructive, practical ways by which all the great nations can work together for world justice and world peace, or we shall all go down together in fratricidal destruction.

Because the United States was not a member of the League of Nations and because the naval competition of Great Britain, Japan and the United States, and their naval interests in the Pacific were creating possibilities of fresh international disaster, the Conference on Limitation of Armament was called by President Harding. It convened in Washington November 11, 1921, and accomplished far more than many anticipated. A ten-year naval holiday was accepted by five nations. Four great powers in the Pacific agreed to consult together should threatening difficulties develop in regard to their island possessions in that ocean. Agreements were made by nine nations in regard to China's rights and their common interests in that land of enormous possibilities.

The Washington Conference secured results for which all should be deeply grateful. But mighty tasks still confront our nation and all the nations before we shall realize our ideal of a Warless World. We must remember that capital ships have largely lost their significance. Provision has not yet been made for the general reduction of land armaments. Chemical, aeroplane and submarine warfare still threatens the nations. These new weapons have created new problems of the gravest character for the entire world. How can they be abolished, or even *limited, so long as* war and preparation for war are recog-

nized as legitimate methods by which civilized peoples may seek to secure their national objectives?

It is clear that war itself must be outlawed. There is one way, however, and only one way to outlaw war. We must establish a world peace system. Mere disarmament by itself will not stop war nor insure a Warless World. Only the firm establishment of the institutions and agencies of justice and of liberty under law, maintained by effective sanctions at the hands of law-abiding and peace-loving nations, can possibly banish war from this war-cursed world. The most urgent need of mankind today is the speedy establishment of international institutions to assure equal justice, full security and fair economic opportunity for all nations alike. These are essential prerequisites to permanent peace.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in a "Declaration of Ideals and Policy Looking Toward a Warless World," adopted December 16, 1921, made the following significant utterance:

1. We believe that the government of the United States should associate itself promptly with the other nations of the world to establish permanent institutions for the formulation of international law, for the effective operation of the International Court of Justice and of boards of arbitration and conciliation, for the assurance to law-abiding and peace-loving nations of security from attack and spoliation by any lawless and aggressive nation, and for the provision of fair treatment and equal economic opportunity to all.

2. We believe that only by these institutions and agencies will it be possible and practicable to abolish the menace to the entire human race of submarines, of aeroplanes, and of poison gases.

3. We believe, further, that the reconstruction of the shattered institutions of production, of exchange, of trade, and of credit, all so essential to the peace and prosperity of the nations, is possible only when the feverish fears and preparations for possible war are completely abandoned because of the successful functioning of the institutions of an effective world peace system.

4. We take the above stand remembering:

   a. That practically every important nation in the world has committed itself to the idea of a permanent organization of the nations for world peace, and many of them have associated themselves in a League of Nations for that purpose.

   b. That President Harding has repeatedly committed himself and his Administration to a permanent association of the nations for world peace, renewed in his recent address at the opening of the Washington Conference in the memorable words that the United States co-operating with other nations, desires "to do that nobler thing which no nation can do alone."

5. We believe that the time has come for American public opinion to express unmistakably to Congress its emphatic support of President Harding and of the Administration in making adequate pledges and in giving satisfactory guarantees that the United States will take its full share of responsibility in international tasks and obligations.

6. We reject with indignation a policy of taking all possible economic advantages in all parts of the world while shirking international responsibilities and obligations.

7. We advocate the foregoing policy, remembering the numerous actions of the Federal Council from its very inception in 1905, and repeated at practically every annual meeting since, urging the creation of a permanent organization of the nations for world peace, which policy has also been repeatedly expressed in numberless actions of our constituent bodies during the past decade.

CHAPTER VI

Ideals That Will Create a Warless World—(Continued)

8. International Law
Courts of Justice
Boards of Arbitration

"The hope of the future is the development of that community life among nations that already exists among individuals in the state. The new world will come only when the nations realize that they are all linked up together for weal or woe, and when nations organize their relationships on the same high principles that obtain among all good men."

—FREDERICK LYNCH.

IDEALS THAT WILL CREATE A WARLESS WORLD—Continued

8. We believe in international law and in the universal use of international courts of justice and boards of arbitration.

International law in a proper sense of the word does not yet exist. Not until a general conference of peace-loving nations is held, by which general principles are formulated, codified and accepted, for the regulation of their relations, which principles shall be the standards by which the conduct of nations is to be approved as legitimate, or condemned as illegitimate, will there be in any adequate sense "International Law."

A treaty is an agreement, usually between two governments, giving and receiving reciprocal privileges and assurances for the fair treatment of each other's citizens or subjects. Treaties thus embody principles of international conduct. Lawyers have analyzed and grouped these principles together; these are what popular language refers to as "International Law." Any nation, however, can at will repudiate its treaties and violate all the so-called international laws and still be within its "legal rights." For there are, in fact, no "legal rights" and no laws to be violated. An individual cannot abrogate a law, though he may violate it. Only the authority that enacts a law can repeal it. Only a society of nations can really establish international law. In that case no single nation could abrogate it, although it might violate it. Germany or its Kaiser could not be tried for declaring

war, because there was no international law making the beginning of war illegal and a crime.

At present, therefore, treaties between pairs of nations constitute only an approach to international law. They usually include specific details and trade agreements that are not capable of general application. They correspond thus to contracts between individuals rather than to laws.

"Thou shalt not kill"; "thou shalt not steal"; "thou shalt not bear false witness" are moral laws; but they are also declarative laws contained in the codes of all civilized nations. As formulated, codified and officially promulgated, they are man-made laws. They express, however, fundamental principles of right living in the personal relations of man with man. In this sense they are the eternal, immutable, moral laws of God. Whether or not they are codified and adopted by a people, they nevertheless are inescapably and eternally operative. A people among whom these principles of right relations are ignored and frequently violated cannot prosper. Conversely, their universal observance brings welfare and prosperity.

Although God's laws are always and inescapably operative, experience shows that great advantage comes to a people that expresses these imminent and eternal principles in declarative laws. They can then be easily taught. As a declarative law these all-important principles can be widely enforced by the state. A community of peace-loving men and women, by the enactment and steady enforcement of declarative laws for the common good, in harmony with fundamental principles of general justice and universal right, can largely repress the few lawless individuals who have little regard for the welfare and the rights of fellow-men, and thus can secure a far more general obedience to God's laws than where such methods are not adopted.

Reflection shows that men do not invent or create moral laws, they only discover and state them. The wisdom and

value of declarative laws depend on the accuracy and adequacy of their formulation of the eternal principles of right and friendly human relations.

Not otherwise is it in international and inter-racial relations. There are immutable and eternal principles, obedience to which determines the welfare of peoples in their group relations. Wars come from their violation. The clear formulation of these principles by nations that desire to live a right international life, and their general and formal adoption by all the principal nations would go far toward securing their universal observance.

The progress of man throughout the ages has been due to the increasing areas of his life that have been removed from the realm of caprice and chance and brought under the control of reason, law and order. Contrary to what might have been expected, every step forward in the dominance of reason and in the control of proper laws has been a step into freedom as well as into prosperity.

No more pressing need confronts the world today than the codification of international law and its formal acceptance by every civilized nation. It is fundamental to an orderly world; to the outlawing of war. The nations of the world need for their guidance "a bill of rights" and a declaration of "duties."[1] Such a bill and such a declaration would constitute a Magna Charta for all nations, great and small. They would establish a new freedom, banish international fear, cast out suspicion, and start the nations on a new era of prosperity because all their energies could then be directed to production and development instead of, as at present, being directed so largely to protection.

To make international law effective there must be appropriate courts. When disputes develop between individuals, or when a manifest wrong has been committed by one individual upon another, society requires that

[1] Cf. Appendix.

the matter be brought into court. It does not permit the one suffering the wrong "to take the law into his own hands." Centuries of experience show that even when the case is apparently quite clear, the welfare of society and the attainment of justice require that the application of the law shall be made by an impartial court. "Mob Law" is, in practice, no law at all.

When disputes arise and wrongs are committed, the parties to the dispute and their immediate friends are, as a rule, so affected that they are unable to see what justice is and requires. Neither accuser nor accused is competent to weigh the evidence, understand all the facts, apply the law and render a fair judgment. No one is fit to be the attorney, judge, jury and executor in his own case. For these reasons society has created courts with defined procedures, and judges, juries and administrative officers. By these means justice is fairly secure and peace between individuals is in the large maintained. But for these agencies of justice and peace, violence would be general and civilization would disappear.

Not otherwise is it in the relations of nations. War as a means of international justice is an absurdity. Victory does not prove who is right but only who is strong. The administration of justice with liberty under law and the preservation of order have made far more progress within each of the great nations than they have in the mutual relations of those same nations. Internationally speaking, we are still in the predatory stage of life. We need now to put into practice in international relations the same principles and procedures that have been found to work, on the whole, so well in local and individual relations. To establish international rights, to secure international justice, and to preserve international peace we must enact international law and establish international courts. Nations, we now clearly see, are no more competent than individuals to decide what justice requires in disputes involving their interests. Antiquated methods

of primitive society for settling inter-tribal disputes should be abandoned. True international courts, operating under true international laws and administered by trained and disinterested judges, constitute the road along which the nations must move if general peace through justice is to be maintained and world civilization is to be advanced.

An event of world significance occurred February 15, 1922, when the "solemn opening" of the Permanent Court of International Justice officially took place at The Hague. This Court was the creation of the League of Nations, and was established by the official acts of forty-five nations. Its creation was provided for in the Covenant of the League, that special article having been proposed by the New York Bar Association. In drafting the constitution of the Court, expert lawyers were invited from many nations, among them former Secretary of State Elihu Root. The fifteen Judges of the Court are elected by the Assembly and the Council of the League, each acting separately. The Judges are chosen on grounds of personal qualifications and not as representing any nation. Although the United States is not a member of the League of Nations, a distinguished American lawyer was elected to be one of the Judges, Hon. John Bassett Moore. This, however, does not make the United States a member or a supporter of the Court. For official cooperation and membership in the Court an Act of Congress will be necessary.

Whatever may be one's judgment as to the wisdom or unwisdom of America's membership in the League of Nations, few Americans question the desirability of full membership in and support of the Court. Its existence is due more to American ideas, plans and advocacy during many decades than to those of any other people. The hope of an orderly world lies in the substitution of law and reason for bare brute force in the settlement of disputes between nations. America should lend the force of its

example and its urgency to the universal use of this Court in every dispute that fails of solution by the methods of ordinary diplomacy.

On May 6, 1922, a Committee instituted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America presented to the Secretary of State for transmission to the President a memorandum dealing with this question which reads as follows:

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America sees in the Permanent Court of International Justice not only the fruition and consummation of many decades of American discussions, plans and desires for international peace through justice based on law, but also the promise of a larger and truer righteousness and justice among the nations, a step forward in the establishment of the Kingdom of God among men. It believes this Court will promote the development of a well considered body of international law and the substitution of reason, justice, mutual good-will and universal law in place of the crude and savage methods of war or threats of war in maintaining even legitimate and vital national interests.

It understands, through the careful inquiry of its Commission on International Justice and Good-will, that participation in the Court is open to any nation mentioned in the annex to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

It is informed that forty-five states have already become members and supporters of the Court, of which eighteen nations have indicated their acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court as "obligatory in any or all of the four legal categories enumerated."

Moreover, among the members of the International Committee which framed the plan creating the Permanent Court of International Justice was our own distinguished citizen, Hon. Elihu Root, and among the eleven judges chosen to constitute the first Court, is another distinguished American citizen, Dr. John Bassett Moore.

Therefore:

Resolved that this Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, expressing

the repeated action of our constituent bodies in behalf of this method of settling international disputes, earnestly request President Harding, Secretary of State Hughes and the Senate to take into consideration the importance of such action as may be necessary to enable the United States to become a party to and supporter of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Of the forty-five nations that have ratified the Convention establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice, eighteen did so "accepting compulsory jurisdiction for all (four) classes of cases" . . . "on a reciprocal basis," disputes namely "concerning (1) the interpretation of a treaty; (2) any question of international law; (3) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; and (4) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation." That is to say, they have agreed to submit every difficulty of the four classes named for adjudication should the dispute be with a nation that has made a similar agreement. It is to be hoped that the United States will soon ratify this Convention, accepting compulsory jurisdiction on a reciprocal basis, and when doing so will invite Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany to do the same. Such a decision by all these Powers would practically insure the peace of the world. For every serious difficulty would by these agreements be brought automatically into Court for settlement by reason and conciliation under circumstances most favorable for impartial adjudication.

The settlement of international disputes by arbitration is not a modern device. It has been used for centuries. According to records that have been carefully compiled we have the following table:[1]

[1] Cf. World Peace Foundation pamphlet Series VI, 6, December, 1916.

INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES SETTLED BY ARBITRATION

Ancient Greece, 425-100 B.C.	82
Medieval and Modern Europe, 800-1794 A.D., at least	200
Modern Period, 1794-1900	477
Hague Period, 1900-1914, at least	200
Total, at least	959

Arbitration treaties began to be made in the early part of the last century. It is estimated that in 1914 the number of such treaties in force was 209. Only three of these, however, were between nations that became belligerents on opposing sides of the Great War! The arbitration treaty between Great Britain and Germany expired by limitation July 1, 1914!

Besides arbitration in a strict sense, Commissions of Inquiry and Conciliation have found favor in recent decades. Forty-eight nations ratified the Hague treaties for Conciliation Commissions, while the United States now has treaties for Commissions of Inquiry with some thirty nations. Statistics are given showing that about 250 settlements have been made by these means, of which 141 concerned boundaries and 106 concerned questions of fact.

An excellent example of adjusting international disputes by arbitration and conciliation is found in the famous treaty of Washington in 1871. Negotiations for the settlement of the "River and Lake Boundary" and the "Lake and Land Line" between Canada and the United States were begun as early as 1814. Many discussions developed and passions were deeply stirred. "Forty-nine forty or fight" was an American slogan at one time. We did not get "forty-nine forty" nor did we fight. We settled the question by arbitration and mutual concession. The final report of the International Boundary Commission fixing the western boundary between Canada and the United States was not submitted until 1921. The settlement of the "Alabama Claims" was another famous case settled by arbitration.

CHAPTER VII

Ideals That Will Create a Warless World—(Concluded)

9. A Sweeping Reduction of Armaments
10. A Warless World

"We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair, as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of Asia."

—WOODROW WILSON.

IDEALS THAT WILL CREATE A WARLESS WORLD—Concluded

9. We believe in a sweeping reduction of armaments by all nations.

Why do nations arm? Why does America arm? Why do we need the navy allowed us by the Washington Conference? We surely have no predatory designs on Canada, or Mexico, or Japan, or on any other country. Why then are we willing to expend hundreds of millions of dollars each year on our Army and Navy? We must find real answers to these questions before we can understand the full significance of the declaration of our creed or realize the difficulties in the way of its achievement.

The primary reason, then, why nations arm is because they want and must have security, an object that is wholly right and legitimate. The development and preservation of civilization depend on security. Peace of mind, confidence for the morrow and ability to do the day's productive work depend on assurance of security.

In addition to security, men want liberty and justice and respect. These also are right and legitimate objects. Long experience shows that when violence is rife individuals and peoples that are unarmed and can in self-protection do little or no violence, receive scant justice and slight consideration from those that are armed. Their liberty is always in danger and oftentimes is entirely destroyed. China among the nations is a conspicuous example. Who has cared about China's rights? One nation after another has invaded her territory, abridged her liberty, humiliated her honor, declared "spheres of

influence" and "special rights," extorted compromising treaties and taken possession of valued territories. All, because China was militarily helpless. Africa and its people have become the spoils of Europe's militaristic nations. Too often have they been mistreated, downtrodden, exploited. Why? Because they could not exert violence comparable to that of the aggressive nations. If the United States had no army and no navy whatever, would we be respected and honored by the nations of Europe? Would our claims be given consideration in their chancelleries? What is the trouble with Armenia? Weakness. Why is the infamous Turk given such consideration and fresh opportunity? Among other reasons because she can fight.

A slight consideration of the hard facts of the real world shows that the proposal for one-sided disarmament is wholly visionary and impracticable. So long as nations generally depend on their own brute force to provide security from attack and to get their rights, no single nation will dare to disarm. Weak and backward nations will always suffer at the hands of strong and aggressive nations in a world organized, or rather unorganized, as the world is today.

Millenniums of experience have thus created deep and powerful convictions that security depends on capacity for defense. In the ages of savagery every man went armed to defend himself and his home. Tribes in time combined to protect themselves from other tribes. But as human life developed, experience accumulated and interests intertwined; better ways were adopted for establishing and maintaining security; of attaining justice; of preserving liberty; and of promoting the general welfare and the honor of each—the way, namely, of friendly co-operation. Laws were enacted and codified; courts established; judges selected; juries chosen; evidence sifted; facts certified; police and other executive officials *were established.*

In proportion as these methods of substituting law and reason for bare might have been followed in the settlement of disputes, increasing areas of human life have become orderly and peaceful, and men have found a more certain security, a larger freedom, and a truer justice than when they relied each on his own right hand for these legitimate objectives and desires. In the modern state, therefore, security for individuals is provided by a police force, although national security is still assured by the army and navy. In the final analysis, then nations arm from fear of armed neighbors. Armed neighbors produce fears, and fears produce increased arms, a vicious circle. Advocates of a warless world, therefore, now urge the extension of these long tried methods in the application of reason and law, by extending them to the relations of nations. Their security, their justice and their economic opportunities should be established and maintained by the joint effort of all. International laws, courts and judges should now be established. By co-operation these essentials of civilized life will be more certain for all, and less costly, than when each strong nation seeks to attain these ends for itself alone.

Security and economic opportunity are closely linked together. A people for instance establishes and extends in peaceful ways its economic life and then seeks to preserve it. The natural way hitherto has been to arm sufficiently to defend it if need should arise. Peoples sometimes discover new economic opportunities beyond their borders and proceed to get them by treaty, if possible, or by threat of force or by force if necessary. For three hundred years the nations of Europe have been extending their political possessions in these ways in all parts of the world by means of their military power and because of the enlarged economic opportunity they thus acquired. No nation or people willingly surrenders once acquired territory or trade. To preserve their "rights" and their "honor" the nation arms and prepares to fight any per-

sible foe. The recent discussions about the "mastery of the Pacific" have been due to rival economic interests, actual or prospective. America's expanding navy in recent years has been ascribed by many to her economic ambition in the Far East. We were not willing, it was alleged, to be pushed aside by Japan.

Such being the world situation and the objects for which nations arm, is it not fantastic to call, as our Creed does, for "a sweeping reduction of armaments"? If the demand means loss of security, subjection to injustice and dishonor, and deprivation of legitimate economic opportunity, it would indeed be foolish and futile. This is not, however, what sane advocates of disarmament propose. While there are, no doubt, extreme pacifists who think that men fight merely because they are armed and that if they were to disarm we would at once have a Warless World, such unbalanced extremists are few. What our Creed proposes and what intelligent advocates of disarmament urge, is the establishment of a substitute for armaments and for wars; a method, namely, that will give security, guarantee justice, preserve honor and provide economic opportunity for all alike.

The call of our Creed for a sweeping reduction of armaments assumes therefore that the nations have already associated themselves permanently for the establishment of the institutions of peace, have pledged their mutual faith and good-will in the formulation and general adoption of international law, and have united in establishing international courts of justice and boards of arbitration which, of course, it is assumed they will use. When these things have been done a sweeping reduction of armaments is possible and should be speedily effected.

The imperative economic necessity for the general adoption of the proposed world-peace system, including the sweeping reduction of armaments, is the colossal cost of modern war and preparations for war, already noted in *an earlier* chapter. The argument for vast war prepara-

tions as "insurance against war" is no longer valid; the cost has become too heavy. This insurance is itself a cause of danger. The world faces bankruptcy and chaos if the old methods of maintaining security by violence and preparations for violence are continued. For the year 1920-1921, as we have already seen, America expended on her army and navy $1,752,000,000, while thirty-eight nations expended over $5,268,000,000. Many of the nations are hopelessly in debt and are unable even to pay the interest on their debts. Our interest account alone is about $1,000,000,000 annually. Every passing decade, moreover, will make the cost of "adequate preparedness," if the old "insurance" methods are continued, increasingly costly. No possible limit can be set to what security, by means of mere military and naval preparations, will cost.

Preparation for violence as a means of security against violence has thus reached its *reductio ad absurdum* through the "vicious circle." The very increase of expensive war preparations on the part of the various European nations was one of the important factors that led infallibly to the Great War and to further incredible and crushing costs. And in spite of all they spent in the hope of security their preparations in the end did not save them; rather they carried the nations over the precipice. Surely a method so fallacious, so intrinsically immoral and vicious and ultimately so dangerous should be abandoned. Fear, however, of the direful consequences of maintaining large armies will not lead to their sweeping reduction, if fear still exists of what might happen without them. Nations, like individuals, choose what seems the lesser evil. The dearest thing to nations, as to individuals, is life. For this, they will sacrifice everything—pay any price.

But of course no nation can abandon defensive armaments alone. If one arms all must arm. If one is to disarm all must disarm. This means, however, that all

must unite in setting up the substitutes for war, the institutions of universal justice and security under general international law. And this carries with it the tacit understanding—should it not also be the explicit pledge of the associated nations—that each law-abiding nation will be protected, from wanton attack, by the combined economic and military power of all the law-abiding nations? How otherwise can there be peace of mind and sense of assured security? And how otherwise can there be the sweeping reduction of armaments by all the nations?

Our Creed, therefore, makes no quixotic proposal, knowing full well that there are legitimate objects for which nations have armed in the past but also convinced that under the conditions of the modern world those legitimate objects can be secured only by the general adoption of new international principles.

This proposal is made with high hopes, for we see in the world new forces at work. Interests are intertwining; mutual knowledge is developing; insight into the realities is growing; new ways of securing national safety with honor and justice and fair treatment are being worked out. The welfare, safety, justice and honor of each is becoming more closely and inextricably bound up with that of all. Single nations can no longer secure by sheer military might what once they could. The legitimate ends which they formerly sought for themselves alone they must now seek for all if they are to possess and enjoy them even for themselves. If this is true, then the Christian idealist can rightly declare the practicality of his belief in a sweeping reduction of armaments by all nations.

The problem, however, for those who would speed the day of this great event is to devise the concrete methods and create the psychological conditions in each nation by which it may be brought about. The mere demand of the ardent idealist for immediate disarmament will *not* accomplish it. Nor will the plea of the "pacifist" and

the "conscientious objector," however earnestly and devotedly urged, that all Christians should simply refuse outright to have anything whatever to do with war, secure it. Though millions of individuals as individuals may "boycott war," that will not bring war to an end. The practical idealist realizes that we must create the world institutions and agencies for justice, for safety and for liberty under law. In proportion as these are created and are effectually operating, nations will find that they can secure every essential and legitimate object without regard to the size of their military equipment. Fears and suspicions of neighbors will then gradually pass away and with them the armament they produced.

Happily the way to the desired sweeping reduction of armaments is not utterly new and untried. It is in truth but the application of the way that has for centuries been receiving constantly wider and larger use. The entire history of human progress has consisted of ever-widening circles of co-operation. Even in man's crudest days of barbarism his life was dependent on co-operation. By learning to co-operate in larger ways, through more extended areas and in more loyal spirit, his welfare has advanced. The demand of our day to end war and to start on a Warless World is only the demand to extend still further the age-old principle and practice of co-operation.

10. We believe in a Warless World and dedicate ourselves to its achievement.

A Warless World! What would a Warless World be like? Would it be an insipid world? A flabby, lazy world? A world of cowards and shirks, of namby-pamby goody-goodies? A world of nobodies and flunkies? "No scorn, no hardness, no valor any more?" "Fie upon such a cattleyard of a planet," exclaimed William James as he declared the need for a "moral equivalent of war."

What, then, are the great moral values that men have found in war? Are they not the extraordinary devotion of the average individual to the community? to the nation? His self-forgetfulness, his self-sacrifice, his disregard even of life itself? When the surging war-spirit takes possession of a people conscious of danger, how unified they become! How fused into a common life! How devoted to a common interest! How dominated by a common enthusiasm!

In war and in wartime have been displayed unforgettable courage and undying heroism. Then has been revealed an inner greatness in the common man that normally lies dormant, inactive, unknown. No wonder men have praised war heroes, have sung their triumphs, have built them memorials and revered their memories! But was it war that created these noble characteristics? Or did war only give opportunity for their revelation? And is it only war that can call forth these noble qualities of mind and heart and will?

Nor must we forget or overlook the elation of mass feeling when stirred by the sight of marching millions, gloriously keeping step to the thrilling sound of martial music, carrying in amazing unity their burnished weapons gleaming in the sunlight, following the flag which symbolizes the honor and history of the nation. How wonderful, how inspiring it all is! How the old men and women and children, and how the marching men themselves are lifted to levels of feeling and devotion that seem to come at no other times and in no other ways.

In a Warless World can these things be? Must it be a tame, drab world, without enthusiasms, without stirring music, without prancing horses and beautiful flags, and millions of men keeping step in their march for the nation's defense and honor? Those who emphasize the high and noble aspects of man's military development commonly overlook its ignoble and disastrous aspects. *The worst* part of war is not the mere loss of life entailed.

Even more inimical to man's true welfare is the brutalized spirit of millions. The killing of fellow-men becomes a light thing; crime becomes easy; and every other vice that follows in the wake of warfare becomes common. After the uplift in entering upon war, comes the inevitable moral reaction and collapse. Sordid selfishness, crass materialism, brutish self-indulgence, ruthless indifference to need and want and suffering, become altogether too common, alike among the conquered and the conquerors. The "moral values" of war and preparations for war are in fact illusory, temporary. The moral disaster of war is deep and real and long continued.

Are there then in a Warless World no moral equivalents of war? No situations and tasks to call forth heroism, demand devotion, require sacrifice? In a Warless World are there no great tasks for great men and great women? Assuredly yes: a thousand times yes. How blind must be the eyes of those who ask such questions! It shows how distorted has been the teaching of history, how shallow our common understanding of the non-military heroes of mankind. Who are the men that have created civilization, have really made life more noble, more gracious, more generous, more true, more intelligent, more able to command the manifold resources of nature? Are they not the great students and scholars and educators, the great scientists and philosophers and orators, the great artists and musicians, poets and architects, the great inventors, explorers and discoverers, the great reformers and pastors, preachers, seers and prophets? Shall we forget their struggles, their sacrifices, their heroism?

In this connection one thinks of the great heroes of civilization, Moses, Isaiah, Paul; Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Phidias; Buddha, Confucius; Michelangelo, Raphael, Dante; Luther, Calvin, Knox, Wesley; Shakespeare, Tennyson, Browning; Bacon, Newton, Galileo, Pasteur, Livingston, Edison; Gorgas, and ten thousand

more through whose insights, discoveries, character, sacrifices, achievements, the whole human race has been lifted up and enriched.

The mighty tasks for the welfare of mankind are not yet completed. When war is no more and fear of war is forever ended, then will the energies of mind and heart of the great leaders of our race, who in every land for ages have had to devote their best thought and skill to war and preparations for war, be turned to the constructive processes of life and civilization. Science is only in its infancy. What fresh discoveries of Nature's secrets shall be made, what mastery of Nature's forces may be achieved and brought to the uplift of human life the world over, when the wealth of brain and time and the drive of devotion and self-sacrifice that have been directed to self-protection for all past ages, may be freely and fully devoted to science and civilization.

Shall we not conquer ignorance, banish poverty, vanquish disease, prevent famine, end pestilence, overcome all abnormal pain, stop crime, develop the sense of brotherhood, enjoy fellowship, promote loyalty, make duty attractive, cultivate poetry and every form of art, harness every river, tap the boundless power of atoms, give music to every hamlet, make life as interesting and inspiring to the miner and the scavenger as to the most favored dweller in our great cities, and discover and make known to all mankind new ranges of beauty and truth and goodness, when war is no more? All this will call for devotion, for self-sacrifice, for heroism of the noblest type. No selfish, slothful soul, thinking of ease and pleasure can render the higher service that mankind so much needs. Surely a Warless World will be no "cattleyard of a planet" when fear of war is gone forever, and the energy thus released sets itself to the great physical, mental and moral tasks of making this world a fit and lovely place to live in for every child and every woman and every *family in every* land and of every race. Great tasks

are these. Great times are ahead. Great men will be called for.

But in achieving these great goals we shall need to utilize to the full those methods of arousing mass consciousness of unity and devotion. The pomp and beauty of parades and prancing horses, the thrilling magic of marching music, the wondrous sight of thousands keeping faultless step; all these ancient methods will be conserved and utilized, but free from the implication or thought of war, the wholesale slaughter of fellow-men.[1]

Only by faith shall these things be. "Faith is the victory that overcomes the world." We of this twentieth century begin to see a vision of a new heaven and a new earth in which war shall be no more. The Great War has forced the necessity for it home on millions of men. The new world created by modern science declares the great alternative: A Warless World or a World destroyed by War. The first great task of the new era is the abolition of war, and the release thereby of the men and the means for the other great tasks of our advancing civilization of universal human brotherhood.

[1] A good start in these directions is the Boy Scout movement. It should be more widely understood, developed and adopted in all our churches and schools, for it promotes both the cultivation of noble character, upon which the churches rightly lay emphasis, and also the development of physical power and good health, upon which advocates of universal military training rightly lay so much stress.

CHAPTER VIII

Some Concrete Tasks in Working for a Warless World

1. The Mexican Question
2. The Treaty Rights of Aliens
3. The Immigration Question

"I once believed in armed preparedness. I advocated it. But I have come to believe there is a better preparedness in a public mind and a world opinion made ready to grant justice precisely as it exacts it."

—WARREN G. HARDING.

SOME CONCRETE TASKS IN WORKING FOR A WARLESS WORLD

Fresh visions, peace movements and organizations of the churches and peace education are but preparations for that real, positive program by which alone true world peace can be established.

At present, as indeed militarists assert, every nation is actuated largely by self-interest. Self-interest is regarded as natural and inevitable. Inter-tribal, inter-racial and international relations from the beginning of human history have been so selfish, and the conduct of peoples and races toward each other has been so brutal, producing so much suffering, that peoples are suspicious of each other. Jealousy, hatred, fear and desire for revenge, control more or less consciously the attitude of many.

Permanent world peace, however, can come only as these feelings are overcome and mutual good-will, confidence and the spirit of co-operation are established in their place. These animosities, distrusts, indignations, have been evoked by deeds. They can be overcome only by deeds. *The way to conquer evil is to do good.* This is a universal principle. It applies to nations as well as to individuals. Our Christian ideals and practices must now be definitely and consciously applied to international life. *The Golden Rule must be given international application.*

Here, therefore, is the comprehensive platform of the Christian World Peace Program. *Christians seek to establish the Kingdom of God on a world-wide scale through methods of international righteousness and helpfulness.* Treaties of peace and arbitration are well, but they are

not enough. Promises not to declare war until time has elapsed for a Commission to investigate and report are thoroughly worth while. They are not, however, adequate substitutes for active good-will. What the world now needs are international beneficent actions that will remove existing suspicions, distrusts, animosities and prejudices.

In this chapter and the next we shall consider a number of concrete questions which call for intelligent Christian action. These are typical examples of the tasks that must be undertaken by those who are earnest in achieving a Warless World.

The Mexican Question

For a century America and Mexico have been living side by side. We have not been the best of neighbors; there has been more or less of friction. We have occasionally fought each other. Many Mexicans suspect us of aggressive designs, and regard us as ill-mannered and as cowards. They feel that we have repeatedly done them wrong; that we have seized their territory; wantonly invaded their cities; interfered with their sovereign rights. They think that we greedily desire to annex the whole country; that we have not done it in the past because we could not; that we are intrinsically cowardly and dare not risk a serious conflict with them.

On the other hand, many of us look upon them with disdain. Their history, their ancestry, their habits, personal and national, moral and political, fall under our ban. Some of us regard them as intrinsically incapable of appreciating our magnanimity. Whatever we may do to them, kindly and helpful, not a few of our people believe would be useless. The only way to treat them, they insist, is to hold them in their place by force and punish them when they destroy American property, kill *American citizens*, or insult the American flag.

What now can be done to change these feelings, ours and theirs? How can we learn to trust and love them and persuade them to trust and love us? How can we discover their good traits and help them to discover ours? How can we become good neighbors to them and help them to become good neighbors to us? How can we establish such right feelings here and there that both they and we shall be convinced that never again will conflicts arise between us? Such are some questions we must answer if we are serious in our proposals to establish a Warless World. If America by real Christian conduct cannot influence her nearest neighbor, and enter into relationships of permanent good-will and mutual trust, how can we reasonably expect to influence the whole world to develop these feelings? How can we think that other nations whose relations with one another century after century have been bitter and disastrous can possibly establish mutual friendship and permanent peace?

There is, in fact, only one possible way out. "The way to resume is to resume." We must begin to practice the Golden Rule in our relations with Mexico without waiting for any change in her or even in our own feelings. We know in part at least what the Christian ideal requires; let us do it. We must be brothers to them. Even though it cost us much we must be righteous and kindly.

What then shall we do? To be vague at this point will not do; our prescription of remedies must not consist of mere glittering generalities. We venture, therefore, to suggest a number of things that as a nation we might well do in the near future.

1. To help us become acquainted with the better side of Mexico, let Congress establish, say, fifty annual scholarships for American college graduates for a year of residence and study in Mexico. Let these students associate with the best Mexican people, mastering their language, becoming familiar with their history, ideals, psychology, etiquette and customs.

2. Let Congress also establish, say, two hundred scholarships for worthy Mexican youths for study in the United States. Arrangements should be made for such students to live in our best educational circles. Should America's Christian families open their homes to these Mexican students and treat them as we have treated Japanese and Chinese students, what a mighty factor it would be for international acquaintance and good-will!

3. To help Mexico get upon her feet educationally, might not the United States appropriate, say, $5,000,000 annually for ten years for elementary non-sectarian education in Mexico, with which to erect school buildings and pay salaries for school teachers? This should, of course, be done in friendly conference and co-operation with the Government of Mexico. Mexico might well be asked to provide some suitable amount to accompany the expenditure of the American grant.

4. But whatever may or may not be done by our Government, there will still be large call for private, unofficial activity. What Mexico supremely needs is the multiplication of Mexican citizens trained for leadership. For this a large increase of high class secondary and normal schools, supplemented by a well-equipped University, are essential. These might well be supplied by Christians in America and provide education distinctively Christian in spirit. The Missionary Boards carrying on work in Mexico should be loyally supported by all who desire permanent, friendly relations between America and that land.

5. In American educational institutions, moreover, a large program of instruction should be provided in the history of Mexico and of all Latin-American countries. Americans should come to know as promptly as possible the characteristics of national psychology distinguishing Anglo-Saxon from Latin countries. They should study international relations from the viewpoint of those other *nations.* We need to see how our doings, our expan-

sions, our policies, our ways, our Monroe Doctrine, appear to them. How would we in their places regard our dealings during the past century with Mexico, with Colombia, with Nicaragua, with Haiti and with Santo Domingo? The time has surely come when every nation should abandon the assumption that its deeds alone have been right; its wars alone have been altogether righteous; its people alone are humane and peace-loving. If through our schools we can teach our people pretty generally to look at our history with impartial eyes, we shall come to have more sympathy with other nations and a truer capacity for dealing justly by them.

What now would be the effect on Mexico of such deeds and such a policy steadily continued for twenty years? Who can doubt that their distrust of us and ours of them would be gradually, or perhaps even rapidly, removed? Would not the politics of Mexico undergo thorough transformation through the silent but potent influences of our own methods and our Christian spirit? For knowledge of us and admiration would surely spring up and sweep through the entire people in the course of a couple of decades. Popular education would advance. The prosperity of Mexico likewise would grow. The financial returns through increasing trade would in the course of a score of years far more than repay our expenditure in the proposed program. But of more value would be the good-will and mutual confidence growing between us, and the establishment thus of lasting peace.

What, too, would be the effect of such a policy on our own people? Beyond question our interest in Mexico's progress and welfare would become fraternal and real. What joy would be ours to see her saved from revolutions and started permanently on the pathway of internal peace and prosperity! We should see splendid qualities in them that we had not suspected. By establishing right relations each would reveal to the other his better side, and

in proportion as we see the better side our mutual esteem would advance.

What, moreover, would be the effect of such a policy on other nations? As time passed and we consistently carried out our program, they would surely come to believe and trust us. The nations of South America would be particularly keen in watching us. They, too, would develop confidence in us. For once in the history of the world men would see a powerful nation really Christian in its international relations. Confidence in us would spring up in every land. And would they not begin to see that, after all, "Godliness is profitable for all things," even in international politics? From every possible point of view, the expenditure of money in the ways indicated would appear to be good business as well as truly Christian.

Some will, of course, begrudge such sums to aliens. Before completing this program, they will argue, it would cost us many millions of dollars. What right have we to take this vast amount out of the pockets of poor American workingmen and give it to worthless Mexicans?

How much, we ask in reply, would we willingly have expended, had President Wilson and Congress decided a few years ago to avenge the honor of our flag? Would it not have cost us *many hundred million dollars in a few months?* Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of our young men would have been killed and tens of thousands wounded. By the time all the bills had been paid for military invasion and conquest, for years of military occupation, and for the pension roll continuing for fifty to sixty years, the total would have run up to several billion.

If by the expenditure of $100,000,000 in deeds of good-will we can establish permanent peace with Mexico, as certain as that with Canada, where we need no forts or soldiers to guard our borders, it would be a good bargain. But whatever the method of good-will may cost, will it *not cost less than* the war method? The cost of peace

maintained by readiness for war is endlessly expensive. It aggravates suspicion and animosity; and when the "inevitable" conflict comes, the murder, destruction, pillage, crimes and atrocities only serve still further to inflame the feelings on both sides. Whichever side is victorious, passions smolder on for decades, ready to be fanned to flames by the breath of circumstance. The recent and the continuing tragedy in Europe is a part result of the "glorious" victories and pitiful defeats of past centuries.

To make Mexico truly friendly, then, absolutely confident of our good-will, we must develop Christian feelings and Christian conduct toward her. All will see that we really mean our Christian policy if it really costs us something, and if we keep it up year in and year out. On the other hand, unless we do this, will not the day come when America will have to spend hundreds of millions in conflict? And after that, the task of making Mexico friendly will be far more difficult and expensive than now.

The Treaty Rights of Aliens

The Government of the United States is bound by numerous treaties respecting the rights of aliens. The treaty of 1871 with Italy, for example, contains the following reciprocal pledge:

> The citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall receive in the states and territories of the other the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or may be granted to the natives on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed upon the natives.

In spite of these clearly-defined and definitely accepted obligations, the person and property rights of aliens have been repeatedly violated and not a few aliens have even

been murdered by mobs. As a result, the friendly relations existing between the United States and foreign countries have often been jeopardized.

Hon. William H. Taft has given a list of seventy-three aliens of different nationalities lynched or murdered between 1885 and 1910. In addition hundreds were wounded and thousands were driven from their homes, their property destroyed by lawless mobs. "At Rock Springs, Wyoming, on November 30, 1885, there was an armed attack by one hundred men on a Chinese settlement in a mining town, in which all the houses were burnt, and in which twenty-eight Chinamen lost their lives, sixteen were wounded, and all their property was destroyed."

"Nine Italians were lynched in New Orleans in 1891."

"In 1895 three Italians were lynched at Walsenberg, Colorado."

"In 1899 three Italians were lynched at Tallulah, Louisiana."

The Constitution of the United States provides that treaties "made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land" (Art. VI, 2); that the President with the advice and consent of the Senate shall have the "power to make treaties" (Art. II, 2); and that "Congress shall have power . . . to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States" (Art. I, Sect. VIII, 18).

Although the Constitution clearly gives Congress the power to pass legislation that would enable the Federal Executive to deal directly with all infringements of treaty rights guaranteed to aliens, Congress has never passed the necessary laws. It has left to local authorities the responsibility of carrying out the provisions of treaties. When these have been ignored or violated, the Federal Government has been helpless because no laws of Congress *have given powers* covering the case.

In consequence of this situation, crimes have been committed against aliens in a number of states, the perpetrators of which have been protected from prosecution and punishment by local interests.

The Federal Government has repeatedly acknowledged its responsibility to the foreign Governments concerned by paying indemnities and by making humble apologies. It has had to make the humiliating confession that it was not able to fulfil the treaty obligations it had solemnly assumed. In cases of threatened danger to individuals or groups it could not extend protection, and after the crime had been committed it could not assure the foreign government concerned that the criminal or criminals would be tried and impartial justice would be administered. Legislation to meet these obligations has been urged by Presidents Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

In his annual message of December, 1906, President Roosevelt said:

> One of the greatest embarrassments attending the performance of our international obligations is the fact that the statutes of the United States are entirely inadequate. They fail to give to the national government sufficiently ample power, through United States Courts and by the use of the army and navy, to protect aliens in the rights secured to them under solemn treaties which are the law of the land. I therefore earnestly recommend that the criminal and civil statutes of the United States be so amended and added to as to enable the President, acting for the United States Government, which is responsible in our international relations, to enforce the rights of aliens under treaties. There should be no particle of doubt as to the power of the national government completely to perform and enforce its own obligations to other nations. The mob of a single city may at any time perform acts of lawless violence against some class of foreigners which would plunge us into war. That city by itself would be powerless to make defense against the foreign power thus assaulted, and if independent of this government it would never venture to perform or permit the performance of the acts complained of. The entire power and the whole duty to

protect the offending city of the offending community lies in the hands of the United States Government. It is unthinkable that we should continue a policy under which a given locality may be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation, and the United States Government limited, not to prevention of the commission of the crime, but, in the last resort, to defending the people who have committed it against the consequences of their wrongdoing.

In his inaugural address March 4, 1909, President Taft said:

By proper legislation we may, and ought to, place in the hands of the federal executive the means of enforcing the treaty rights of such aliens in the courts of the Federal Government. It puts our Government in a pusillanimous position to make definite engagements to protect aliens and then to excuse the failure to perform those engagements by an explanation that the duty to keep them is in states or cities not within our control. If we would promise we must put ourselves in a position to perform our promise. We cannot permit the possible failure of justice, due to local prejudice, in any State or municipal government, to expose us to the risk of a war, which might be avoided if Federal jurisdiction were asserted by suitable legislation by Congress and carried out by proper proceedings instituted by the executive in the courts of the national government.

A practical duty is required of us, to pass the necessary laws. Bills have been repeatedly introduced both in the Senate and the House providing for the necessary legislation. One was drafted by President Taft himself shortly after leaving the White House.[1] It was en-

[1] A Bill

For the better Protection of Aliens and for the Enforcement of their Treaty Rights.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be authorized to direct the Attorney-General, in the name and behalf of the United States, to file a bill in equity in the proper district court of the United States against any person or persons threatening to violate the rights of *a citizen or subject* of a foreign country secured to such citizen or

dorsed by the American Bar Association. The failure to secure the enactment of the necessary legislation has been due to the apathy of the moral conscience of the people. Congress will do what the people wish when the people make their wishes clearly known, and propose to make those wishes count at the polls.

The Immigration Question

The attitude taken by many peoples toward the United States is being deeply affected by the treatment received in America by the immigrants of those peoples that have

subject by treaty between the United States and such foreign country; and that this provision shall apply to acts threatened by State officers under the alleged justification of a law of the legislature of the State in which such acts are to be committed. The aliens whose rights are affected may be joined as complainants with the United States in such equitable proceeding, and jurisdiction is hereby given to the proper district courts to maintain such action. . . .

Section 3. That any act committed in any State or Territory of the United States in violation of the rights of a citizen or subject of a foreign country, secured to such citizen or subject by a treaty between the United States and such foreign country, which act constitutes a crime under the laws of such State or Territory, shall constitute a like crime against the peace and dignity of the United States, punishable in like manner as in the courts of said State or Territory, and within the period limited by the laws of such State or Territory, and may be prosecuted in the courts of the United States, and, upon conviction, the sentence executed in like manner as sentences upon convictions for crimes under the laws of the United States.

Section 4. That the President of the United States is hereby expressly authorized to use the marshals of the United States and their deputies to maintain the peace of the United States when violated by the commission of such acts as are denounced in the preceding section; and should, in his judgment, the circumstances demand it, he is empowered to use the army and the navy for the same purpose.

The third section of the foregoing has been incorporated in the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill which has passed the House and as we go to press is still before the Senate.

come to this land. Until recent years few Americans had any conception of the hardships, neglect, injustices and criminal wrongs that were encountered by strangers from other lands. The phenomenal prosperity of the United States due to our industrial development during the last three or four decades has been made possible by the large volume of men and women from abroad ready to accept any work that was offered them. We have nevertheless paid scant attention to their most elemental human needs. We now begin to see how inhuman has been the advantage taken of their ignorance and their defenselessness. They have been ruthlessly exploited. As an inevitable result deep feelings of indignation and resentment have been developing against our social and political system by large sections of our industrial workers and shared in by the corresponding elements in foreign lands. Even our laws have been in too many instances devised to hamper them, while our courts, our lawyers and our judges have failed to render the specific services that these institutions and persons are created to perform.[1] In the present section we can deal in only the most general way with the immigration question.

For fifty years Congress has been developing step by step a sound policy for the regulation of immigration. It has been increasingly a selective policy—a policy for the exclusion of seriously diseased, flagrantly immoral, dangerously radical and, very recently, wholly illiterate,

[1] The charges made could hardly be believed were it not for the large amount of explicit evidence. The student of this question should consult the "Report on the Steel Strike of 1919," issued by the Inter-Church World Movement; also the volume by R. E. Smith entitled "Justice and the Poor." A work of exceptional merit showing how treatment in America has affected a single racial group and their people in the home land is Jerome Davis' volume, "The Russian *Immigrant.*"

individuals. It has also, for forty years, excluded Asiatic labor fairly effectively.

In spite of increasing restrictions which, however, have been only imperfectly administered, immigration grew to vast proportions during the decade before the war, especially from the countries of East and South Europe.

Although the incoming immigrant has been carefully counted each year for a century the record of departures began to be kept only in 1908. The table on page 112 discloses the statistical facts in the situation:

For a better understanding of what has been taking place, these figures need to be analyzed as to race and sex. A brief summary of these facts is given in the following table:

In regard to the foregoing figures the following items may be particularly noted:

1. The increase of all males exceeded that of all females by some 436,000.

2. Northwest Europeans increased by 1,560,000 while other Europeans, including Hebrews, increased by some 2,702,000.

3. The increase of Mexicans (246,999) and of Africans (73,702) is surprising.

4. Japanese males decreased by 16,703 and Chinese males by 16,988. In both cases the females increased 35,482 and 2002 respectively.

5. Emigrants whose race is not specified are surprisingly numerous (72,526).

The immigration law of 1917 specified with much care the classes of aliens who should be excluded from the United States (criminals, diseased, immoral, mental defectives, anarchists, and the like), and for the first time made a certain amount of literary ability a requirement for admission (ability to read forty words in one's own language).

Many students have been led to the conclusion that the numerical regulation of immigration has become im-

INCREASE OF FOREIGN-BORN IN THE UNITED STATES—1909-1920

	Admitted			*Departed*			Net Increase
	Immigrant	Non-Immigrant	Total	Emigrant	Non-Emigrant	Total	
1909.....	751,786	192,449	944,235	225,802	174,590	400,392	543,843
1910.....	1,041,570	156,467	1,198,037	202,436	177,982	380,418	817,619
1911.....	878,587	151,713	1,030,300	295,666	222,549	518,215	512,085
1912.....	838,172	178,983	1,017,155	333,262	282,030	615,292	401,863
1913.....	1,197,892	229,335	1,427,227	308,190	303,734	611,924	815,303
1914.....	1,218,480	184,601	1,403,081	303,338	330,467	633,805	769,276
1915.....	326,700	107,544	434,244	204,074	180,100	384,174	50,070
1916.....	298,826	67,922	366,748	129,765	111,042	240,807	125,941
1917.....	295,403	67,474	362,877	66,277	80,102	146,379	216,498
1918.....	110,618	101,235	211,853	94,585	98,683	193,268	18,585
1919.....	141,132	95,889	237,021	123,522	92,709	216,231	20,790
1920.....	430,001	191,575	621,576	288,315	139,747	428,062	193,514
Total.....	7,529,167	1,725,187	9,254,354	2,575,232	2,193,735	4,768,967	4,485,387

INCREASE OF FOREIGN-BORN BY RACE AND SEX, 1909-1920

	* Northwest Europeans	* Other Europeans	Hebrews	Mexicans	Africans (black)	† Japanese	† Chinese	‡ Race not specified	Total
Males....	848,369	1,193,845	307,283	150,077	40,921	— 16,073	— 16,988	— 36,927	2,470,507
Females..	712,228	920,753	280,019	96,922	32,781	+ 35,482	+ 2,002	— 35,599	2,044,588
Total...	1,560,597	2,114,598	587,302	246,999	73,702	19,409	— 14,986	— 72,526	§4,485,387

* Excluding Hebrews.
† Including Hawaii.
‡ Departures reported by Canadian Government.
§ Emigrants, sex unknown = 29,708.

portant. This idea was first incorporated into the law by the three per cent. emergency immigration legislation enacted in May, 1921, for a single year and extended for two years in April, 1922 (effective until June 30, 1924). This law specifies that the permissible amount of immigration for the year from any given country shall not exceed three per cent. of those of that country resident in the United States as shown in the census of 1910. The following table gives the "quotas" for the principal countries, and the admittances for the years ending June 30, 1921 and 1922:

Country	Legal Quota	Admitted July 1, 1921 to June 30, 1922	Per cent. of Quota Admitted	Admitted July 1, 1920 to June 30, 1921
Hungary	5,638	6,035	107.0	7,702
Greece	3,294	3,447	104.6	28,502
Poland	25,827	26,129	101.2	95,089
Italy	42,057	42,149	100.2	222,260
Rumania	7,419	7,429	100.1	25,817
Czecho-Slovakia.	14,282	14,248	99.8	40,884
Russia	34,284	28,908	84.3	6,398
France	5,729	4,343	75.8	9,552
Austria	7,451	4,797	64.4	4,947
United Kingdom	77,342	42,670	55.2	79,577
Norway	12,202	5,941	48.7	7,423
Sweden	20,042	8,766	43.7	9,171
Germany	68,059	19,053	28.0	6,803
All Other	33,369	30,038	90.0	261,103
Total	356,995	243,953	68.3	805,228

Admissions constituted 68.3 per cent. of the number permitted to enter under the terms of the law. The countries of Central and Southern Europe largely filled their quotas, while those of Northern Europe sent much *less than* their allotment.

Experience with the administration of this percentage law since June 15, 1921, has shown elements of value and also of weakness. Certain needless hardships and injustices were encountered. Over 2500 cases had to be temporarily admitted by March, 1922, on the authority of the Secretary of Labor, contrary to the letter of the law, because its enforcement would amount to inhumanity. Congress had accordingly to pass a law in March giving all these persons privileges of permanent residence in the United States, thus sanctioning the acts of clemency of the Secretary of Labor and proving the inadequacy of its own statute enacted less than a year before.

It was expected by many that these defects of the law would be remedied when it was extended for two years. It was not done. Special information, however, shows that the Departments of State and Labor are collaborating in promoting a better situation. The preliminary examination of immigrants is being carried on at a number of foreign Consulates and care is being taken to visé the passports of only those who can get in and only up to the amounts of the quotas for each people. This procedure will go far toward avoiding the major part of the hardship thus far encountered.

It is clear, however, that the present three per cent. emergency law cannot be a permanent one. We need a comprehensive law that will be honorable and safe for the United States, and that will deal fairly with immigrants from all lands, creating attitudes toward us of friendship and appreciation.

The principles that should be embodied in a general immigration law would seem to be such as these:

1. Immigration should be regulated and selected both in quantity and in quality.

2. No more immigration should be admitted of any nationality than we can wholesomely assimilate and in a reasonable length of time wisely incorporate into our body politic.

3. No more immigration should be admitted than can find steady and useful employment without endangering normal American standards of life, labor and wages.

4. The numerical regulation of immigration should be flexible. When industrial depression sweeps the country, all labor immigration should be promptly stopped. But the doors should again be opened when prosperity returns. It should be possible to take either step without waiting for special Congressional action.

5. The closing and opening of our doors should be scientific. It should be based on assured and accurately compiled facts and statistics from every part of the country.

6. The law should be general. The principles should be applied equally to every nation and people without arbitrary discrimination.

7. The law should be courteous to all. It should be possible, without humiliating any, to exclude completely particular types of immigration which definite experience shows to be difficult to assimilate and absorb.

8. The law should provide for the sending of expert examiners to the lands from which immigration mostly comes—this for the sake of both prospective immigrants and of our own land.

9. The law should make possible a wise distribution of new immigration. The flow should be restricted or entirely stopped from given peoples, to already congested areas, and encouraged to go to those parts of America where it is desired.

10. The new immigration policy should be distinctly patriotic. It should favor immigration from peoples easily assimilated and check it from other lands. It should guarantee equal treatment and a square deal to all aliens now in the United States. It should provide for higher standards for naturalization and then grant the privileges of citizenship to all who qualify. It should look *to the creation* of a substantially homogeneous people

having a common mind, and a wholesomely functioning democracy.

In a single sentence, the immigration policy now urgently needed by the United States should provide for the flexible regulation of selected immigration of law-abiding assimilable aliens; the selection being continuously adjustable in amount to meet changing economic and industrial conditions; all the relevant facts both in America and in other lands being ascertained with scientific care; the selection being made by expert immigration examiners in the lands from which immigrants come; the immigrants being selected as to character, occupation and numbers with a view to their wholesome distribution from the standpoint of assimilation, Americanization and steady employment on normal American standards of life, labor and wages; the application of these principles being universal, applying equally to all peoples and free therefore from race prejudice and arbitrary race discrimination; the whole procedure being controlled by the fundamental policy of promoting the creation in this land of a substantially homogeneous people and a successfully functioning democracy.

Such a policy, carefully embodied in an adequate law, and loyally administered, would go far toward removing certain serious obstacles to good international feeling between the United States and many race groups and foreign peoples and would constitute an important step in our Christian program for the establishment of a Warless World.

CHAPTER IX

Some Concrete Tasks in Working for a Warless World—(Concluded)

4. Keeping Faith with China
5. Right Treatment of Japanese in America

"Today our eyes are upon the welter of Europe; tomorrow we shall be wrestling with an energy born of desperation with the economic effects of the World War. But the day after that we shall face the struggle of the white and the yellow races. Already our ship of state, and every other ship of state, is entering the rapids. We lift our faces to Christ because he alone can furnish the guidance which will clear the rocks and the power which will bring us all to our desired haven."

—Bishop Bashford.

SOME CONCRETE TASKS IN WORKING FOR A WARLESS WORLD—Concluded

Keeping Faith with China

The story of our dealings with China is as a whole one of which we need not be ashamed. We have not shared in the aggressive designs of European peoples. We have not seized her territory, bombarded her ports, extracted indemnities or pillaged her capitals, as have other nations. On the contrary, we have helped preserve her from "partition" at a grave crisis in her relations with Western lands. We returned a considerable part of the Boxer indemnity that came to us. We have stood for the "open door" and a square deal. Our Consular Courts have, on the whole, been models of probity and justice. The work of our missionaries in hospitals, in education, and in famine and flood relief, has been highly appreciated. The new hope held out to China by the achievements of the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament is largely due to American friendship and help.

In consequence of such factors the Chinese as a nation hold today a highly gratifying attitude of friendship toward us. So conspicuous has this friendship become, especially since the establishment of the Republic (1912), that other nations have begun to note it. In the reforms taking place in China, especially in her educational system, in her political and social reorganization, and in her moral and religious awakening, the influence of Americans is far beyond that exercised by any other people.

All this is certainly reassuring. But how long may we expect to retain China's gratitude, appreciation and

friendship? For a forecast, we need to ask ourselves how we are treating Chinese in America.

When we turn to the story of what many Chinese have suffered here, our cheeks tingle with shame. The story would be incredible were it not overwhelmingly verified by ample documentary evidence.[1] Treaties have pledged rights, immunities and protection and, specifically, "most favored nation treatment" for all Chinese in the United States. They have, nevertheless, been disregarded and violated; and this not only by private individuals but by legislators and administrative officials. Scores of Chinese have been murdered, hundreds wounded and thousands robbed by anti-Asiatic mobs, with no protection for the victims and no punishment for the culprits. State Legislatures, and even Congress, have enacted laws in contravention of treaty provisions. Men appointed to Federal executive offices have at times administered those laws and regulations in highly offensive methods.

Throughout this entire period of nearly half a century Christian churches that were sending their missionaries and relief funds to China made no serious efforts to secure legislative and political protection for Chinese lawfully in this land. This is one of the amazing anomalies of our times. Those who are earnest for the achievement of a Warless World need to know the facts in order that they may be prepared to do their part in rectifying the wrong and in establishing the right.

Let us consider briefly some of the details of the situation. It will be well to premise that all in all Chinese in America have not been treated badly. In general they

[1] The student of American Chinese relations should familiarize himself with Professor M. R. Coolidge's volume entitled "Chinese Immigration." Recent discussions of these questions will be found in "The Fight for Peace" and "American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship," both by Sidney L. Gulick. The paragraphs of the text have been freely quoted from various pamphlets prepared by the writer.

have received police protection; their lives have been safe; they have been able to carry on successful business. So attractive to them is the opportunity of life here that they have stayed on and every year not a few succeed in smuggling their way into our land. The dark picture about to be sketched, accordingly, is not to be understood as describing the regular features of Chinese experience.

Adequately to appreciate the full significance of our anti-Chinese legislation we must begin the story with a few quotations from treaties by which America invited Chinese to this country.

Article V. of the treaty of 1868 reads in part:

"The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively . . . for purposes of curiosity, trade or as permanent residents."

But Article VI, after promising reciprocal "most favored nation" enjoyment of "privileges, immunities and exemptions," adds that this does not "confer naturalization" upon their respective citizens. This clause doubtless meant that the mere fact of residence in the other's land did not of itself alone carry citizenship in that land. For up till 1880 a few Chinese were granted naturalization in the United States. In harmony with the provisions of this treaty considerable Chinese immigration into the United States occurred during the seventh and eighth decades of the last century.

Anti-Chinese agitation soon developed in the Pacific Coast states. Growing violent in the seventies, it led to the sending of a Commission to China which negotiated the supplementary treaty of 1880.

The principal provisions of this treaty are as follows:

Article I provides that "the Government of the United States may regulate, limit or suspend such coming or residence of Chinese (laborers), but may not absolutely

prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to . . . laborers."

Article II provides that: "Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to citizens and subjects of the most favored nation."

Article III provides that in case of ill treatment the "Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions as may be enjoyed by citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty."

Article IV provides that legislative measures dealing with Chinese shall be "communicated to the Government of China," and if found "to work hardship upon the subjects of China, consultations shall be held to the end that mutual and unqualified benefit may result."

In spite, however, of the complete cessation in 1882 of Chinese labor immigration, and in spite of the promises of our Government to provide protection, "and most favored nation treatment," the unjust treatment of Chinese did not cease. The outrages committed on the Chinese during the eighties were even more frightful and inexcusable than those of the preceding decade.

In his discussion of the question whether the Federal Government should protect aliens in their treaty rights, Ex-President William H. Taft cites the cases of fifty Chinamen who suffered death at the hands of American mobs in our Western States, and of one hundred and twenty others, many of whom were wounded and robbed of all their property. The list does not profess to be complete. All these outrages have occurred since 1885.

"In an official note of February 15, 1886, riots were reported at Bloomfield, Redding, Boulder Creek, Eureka

and other towns in California, involving murder, arson and robbery, and it was added that thousands of Chinese had been driven from their homes."

None of the criminals were punished in spite of the article in the treaty which expressly provides that in case "Chinese laborers meet with ill treatment at the hands of other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by citizens or subjects of the most favored nation and to which they are entitled by treaty." Congress, it is true, has voted indemnities for families of those murdered, but financial remuneration can hardly be supposed to take the place of justice or to be a substitute for observance of treaty pledges.

It is sometimes said that Italians and other aliens suffered similarly from mob violence and they too were not protected, nor were the criminals punished, and that therefore China cannot complain of exceptional treatment. But is it not obvious that failure of the United States to fulfill its treaty pledges to Italy and other countries in no wise justifies similar failure toward China? Does it not rather show that the United States is culpable for failure to make adequate provision for the faithful performance of its treaty pledges? This moral and legal defect has become most conspicuous in our relations with China, but its culpability is in no wise lessened—rather it is aggravated—as soon as it becomes clear that the defect is entirely due to the failure of Congress to take the needed action. For provision for such action is made by the Constitution of the United States.

The failure of Congress seems inexcusable, for it found time to enact not only the first general exclusion law in harmony with the treaty with China, but also several supplementary laws, of which important clauses are admittedly in contravention to the treaty.

The Scott Law of 1888 and the Geary Law of 1892 are still in force, though the essential injustice of some of their provisions and their disregard of Chinese treaty rights are now recognized. They are producing constant anti-American feeling among Chinese legitimately in America. Even in cosmopolitan New York and in Boston, Chinese sometimes suffer from the acts of federal officers who supervise Chinese residents in the United States, acts, moreover which are required by the laws and administrative regulations dealing with the Chinese.

With regard to the Scott Law, Senator Sherman said that it was "one of the most vicious laws that have passed in my time in Congress." It was passed as a "mere political race between the two houses . . . in the face of a Presidential election." Senator Dawes sarcastically referred to keeping the treaties as long as we had a mind to. The law was "a rank unblushing repudiation of every treaty obligation . . . unwarranted by any existing danger—a violation such as the United States would not dare to commit toward any warlike nation of Europe."

With regard to the Geary Law, Professor Coolidge makes the following statement:

> Meanwhile the Chinese Minister at Washington, the Consul-General at San Francisco and the Yamen at Peking were also protesting against the act. The Chinese Minister had steadily protested ever since the Scott Act against the plain violation of treaty; just preceding the Geary Act, he wrote six letters to Mr. Blaine only two of which were so much as acknowledged. He now declared that the Geary Act was worse than the Scott Act, for it not only violated every single article of the treaty of 1880 but also denied bail, required white witnesses, allowed arrest without warrant and put the burden of proof on the Chinese. He quoted our own statement on the harsh and hasty character of the act, not required by any existing emergency, whose political motive was well understood both in China and the United States. In his final protest he said: "The statute of 1892 is a violation of every principle of justice, equity, reason and fair dealing between two friendly powers."

Not unnaturally, both the Chinese, and Americans interested in maintaining right relations with China, looked to the Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional such laws as contravene treaties—for are not treaties "the supreme law of the land"? The Chinese accordingly brought forward a test case dealing with certain provisions of the Scott Act (1888).

Judge Field, who pronounced the judgment of the court, said:

> It must be conceded that the Act of 1888 is in contravention of the treaty of 1868 and of the supplemental treaty of 1880, but it is not on that account invalid. . . . It (a treaty) can be deemed . . . only the equivalent of a legislative act, to be repealed or modified at the pleasure of Congress. . . . It is the last expression of sovereign will and must control. . . . The question whether our government was justified in disregarding its engagements with another nation is not one for the determination of the courts. . . . This court is not a censor of the morals of the other departments of the government.

This made it clear that a treaty is not the "supreme law of the land" except as Congress makes it so. Congress can, without violation of the Constitution, repeal or amend any part of a treaty even without securing the consent of the other party to the treaty, and even without conference. Treaties are declared by this decision to have no binding power upon Congress. The Supreme Court declined to take note of the moral obligations of treaty pledges. Disappointing though it may be, this is unquestionably correct law. Aliens deprived by Congress of rights promised by treaties may not appeal to the Supreme Court for the enforcement of those rights. The Administration can indeed use the entire military force of the country to make a foreign nation observe its treaty obligations to us, but according to the interpretation of our Constitution, neither the Administration nor the Supreme Court can hold Congress to the observance of our treaty pledges. The President has of course the power to veto an act of

Congress, but experience shows that even Presidents do not always regard treaties as binding, for the treaty-ignoring laws have been signed by the Presidents then in office. This makes it clear that the moral obligations of our nation must be carefully safeguarded by the people themselves. We must hold our representatives in Congress to their moral responsibilities in international as in all other relations. This is a matter of moral energy—not of law.

In 1904 Congress again contravened the treaty with China. The treaty (1880) states that "The United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence (Chinese labor immigration) but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation of suspension shall be reasonable."

In harmony with these explicit provisions, Congress [illegible] in 1882, in 1892 and again in 1902 for the temporary suspension of Chinese labor immigration for [illegible] of ten years each. By 1894, however, so many [illegible] and treasury regulations dealing with the [illegible] had become so manifestly violations of the treaty [illegible] was prepared in Washington to meet the [illegible] embodying the principal features of the anti-[illegible] legislation. It proved, however, so obnoxious to [illegible] Government that at the first opportunity, [illegible] the expiration (1904) of the ten-year period [illegible] the treaty itself provided, China denounced the [illegible] relations of the two countries therefore fell [illegible] the treaty of 1880, which had been neither [illegible] amended. In spite, however, of its provisions [illegible] Congress then enacted that "all laws regarding or prohibiting the coming of Chinese [illegible] reenacted, extended and continued [illegible] limitation or condition", this again [illegible] the treaty.

"The sta[illegible] Chinese legislation, as it has been justice, e[illegible] under the pressure of legislators powers." [illegible] states, from the eighth decade of

the last century even down to the present, and the way in which the Asiatic problem has been made the "football of party politics" are ill omens for the future relations of America with the Orient. Eight times in fourteen years anti-Chinese agitation on the Pacific Coast secured increasingly drastic and obnoxious legislation in Congress. "All but one of these measures were passed on the eve of an election under political pressure for avowed political purposes." That legislation contravened plain provisions of the treaties, to say nothing of the spirit, and disregarded courteous protests of Chinese ministers and ambassadors. China sent in a "stream of dignified and ineffectual protests." The Chinese Minister even charged us with duplicity in negotiating the treaty of 1880. "Mr. Bayard assured him that the President would veto any legislation which might be passed in violation of the treaty."

If the faithful observance of treaties between the nations of Europe constitutes the very foundation of civilization, is not the faithful observance of treaties with Asiatics the foundation of right relations with them? In other words, do not treaties ratified by Congress have moral aspects which should place them on a higher level of authority than the ordinary acts of Congress? Disregard by Congress of this fundamental principle for the maintenance of right international relations is fraught with ominous consequences. Congress of course has the right to abrogate a treaty, but there is a right way and also a wrong way to do it. Is it any more right for a nation to abrogate an inconvenient treaty by simply passing laws in contravention to certain of its pledges than it is for an individual who has made a promise to another individual giving *quid pro quo* suddenly and without conference to ignore that promise? Is it conceivable that Congress would have treated China as it has, had she been equipped as Japan is today, with the instruments of occidental civilization?

Now when China becomes equipped with a daily press

and adequate world news, when her national organization becomes better unified, more efficient and more centralized, when her self-consciousness is more perfectly developed, and when she learns that Chinese entering America have often suffered ignominious treatment, that Chinese lawfully here are still deprived of rights guaranteed by long standing treaties, and that privileges granted as a matter of course to individuals of other nations are refused to Chinese on exclusively racial grounds, is it not as certain as the sunrise that Chinese friendship for America will wane and serious possibilities develop?

The remedy for this situation is the adoption of a general immigration law absolutely free from race discrimination, and the repeal of all laws dealing specifically with the Chinese.

Right Treatment of Japanese in America

Japan is one of the world's great powers, the leader of the Orient. She is to be our nearest neighbor across the Pacific for a thousand years. Shall we be friendly or hostile neighbors? That depends on what we do no less than on what she does. The full discussion of the complex facts of the Japanese question on the Pacific Coast is beyond the scope of this brief chapter.[1] A condensed statement of the situation should, however, be made.

Japanese immigration began when the labor vacuum arose on the Pacific Coast, due to the stoppage in 1882 of Chinese immigration. Japanese immigration was at

[1] The student desiring to examine this question should secure K. K. Kawakami's "The Real Japanese Question"; the Report of the California State Board of Control on "Orientals in California"; "Should Congress Enact Special Laws Affecting Japanese?" and "The American Japanese Problem," the two latter works by Sidney L. Gulick.

first small and highly welcomed. But when it came in increasing volume and economic competition developed, anti-Japanese agitation started up. In discussing this question one should not forget that wrongdoing took place on both sides. In 1907, however, an arrangement was reached by the Governments of Japan and the United States to stop further labor immigration, without resorting to Congressional legislation. Japan agreed to stop giving passports to new Japanese labor immigrants going to the United States. This is known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement." How it has worked is shown by the following tables, so far as mere figures can show it:

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES
(including Hawaii)

Before the Gentlemen's Agreement		*After the Gentlemen's Agreement*	
1894	1,931	1908	15,803
1895	1,150	1909	3,111
1896	1,110	1910	2,720
1897	1,526	1911	4,520
1898	2,230	1912	6,114
1899	2,844	1913	8,281
1900	12,635	1914	8,929
1901	5,269	1915	8,613
1902	14,270	1916	8,680
1903	19,968	1917	8,991
1904	14,264	1918	10,213
1905	10,331	1919	10,064
1906	13,835	1920	9,279
1907	30,226	1921	7,531

The evidence is conclusive that the Japanese Government has been carrying out honorably the terms of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." While it is true that during the thirteen years since the agreement got into full operation 103,281 Japanese entered Continental United States, of these, 43,229 were Japanese who had already

ALIEN JAPANESE ADMITTED TO AND DEPARTED FROM CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES
(excluding Hawaii)

Year	Admitted	Departed	Net	Former Residents Returning	Wives Admitted	Children Admitted	Parents Admitted
1909	2,432	5,004	— 2,572	850	665	275	14
1910	2,598	5,024	— 2,426	838	880	268	11
1911	4,282	5,869	— 1,587	1,202	1,669	513	9
1912	5,358	5,437	— 79	1,869	2,108	538	36
1913	6,771	5,647	+ 1,124	2,873	2,398	642	44
1914	8,462	6,300	+ 2,162	3,852	3,015	786	25
1915	9,029	5,967	+ 3,062	4,063	2,672	1,269	62
1916	9,100	6,922	+ 2,178	4,150	2,478	1,326	88
1917	9,159	6,581	+ 2,578	4,128	2,397	1,432	73
1918	11,143	7,691	+ 3,452	4,958	2,824	1,685	70
1919	11,404	8,328	+ 3,076	4,096	3,192	1,685	128
1920	12,868	11,662	+ 1,206	5,199	3,817	1,488	75
1921	10,675	11,638	— 963	5,151	2,392	880	164
Total	103,281	92,070	+ 11,211	43,229	30,507	12,787	799

been in America before and therefore were entitled to return. Moreover, 92,070 departed during those same years, so that the net increase was only 11,211. If the arrivals and departures are classified by sex, it is found that during this period 18,852 more males left the United States (including Hawaii) than entered. This means that Japanese male laborers in Continental United States diminished by about 10,000.

In spite of these facts, however, the politicians and sensational press have circulated an extraordinary amount of falsehood and have created an active race prejudice which has led to considerable anti-Japanese legislation in California and other States. Not satisfied with State legislation, agitators have been urging Congress to adopt a drastic program that cannot fail to embitter the relations between America and Japan. Two proposals may be mentioned:

1. Cancellation of the Gentlemen's Agreement is urged on the ground of its "gross violation" by Japan. The facts, however, as already noted, prove that on the contrary the Japanese Government has been faithfully observing it. To abrogate it under such circumstances would be an intolerable affront and humiliation.

2. An amendment to the Federal Constitution is sought, denying American citizenship to American-born children if either parent is "ineligible to become a citizen of the United States." The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution provides that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." Bills have been introduced in both Houses embodying the proposal to repeal this provision. Such a bill, if passed, would create a permanent Asiatic population among us who, because they could not become American citizens, would necessarily be obedient to their Asiatic Governments. They would inevitably resent such humiliating and discriminatory treatment. They would,

moreover, no doubt, become the objects of repeated political agitation and unjust legislation. Japan as a nation would be indignant, and would still further feel that America repudiates the Christianity which it professes.

Both proposals are unwise in principle, un-American in spirit and dangerous in practice.

Recent decisions of test cases by the Supreme Court of the State of California show that drastic anti-Japanese legislation runs counter to the provision of the Constitution. The law (enacted in May, 1921) requiring all aliens to pay a poll-tax of $10 was declared unconstitutional, as was also the provision of the "Alien Land Law" (of 1920) by which "aliens ineligible to citizenship" (Japanese and Chinese) were denied the right to serve as guardians of the agricultural land owned by their American-born children. The law forbidding to Japanese and Chinese the right to lease agricultural land was declared (November, 1921) not to forbid "crop-contract leases."

The discriminatory laws enacted against Japanese and Chinese by the Pacific Coast States ought to be repealed. Yet it is difficult to see how they can be, unless a comprehensive immigration law is enacted which, while dealing equally with every people on general principles, would at the same time afford real safety to the Pacific Coast from the dangers of immigration from Asia.

Some method for handling this complex problem should be found that will, on the one hand, really protect the Western States from those dangers and yet, at the same time, be fair and friendly to Asiatics who reside among us, dealing with them on the basis of the Golden Rule.

In view of the foregoing considerations the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has repeatedly voted to "urge upon Congress and upon the people of the United States the importance of adopting an immigration policy based upon a just and equitable regard for the interests of all the *nations* concerned, and to this end suggest that the entire

immigration problem be taken up at an early date, providing for comprehensive legislation covering all phases of the question (such as the limitation of immigration, and the registration, distribution, employment, education and naturalization of immigrants) in such a way as to conserve American institutions, to protect American labor from dangerous economic competition, and to promote an intelligent and enduring friendliness among the people of all nations."

In briefest terms what is now needed is legislation that will:

1. Give adequate Federal protection to aliens resident in the United States.
2. Assure to every alien the "equal protection of the law" which implies the protection of equal laws.
3. Restrict all immigration to such numbers from each people as we can really Americanize and wholesomely incorporate into our body politic.
4. Raise the standards of naturalization and give citizenship—to every person who duly qualifies for it, regardless of his race.[1]

The problem confronting those who seek a Warless World is, thus, not limited to the establishment of right relations between the nations of Christendom. Right relations must also be established with the nations of Asia, which contain one-half the world's population. *The core of the problem is to devise some method whereby Asia and Asiatics may receive such just and honorable treatment by the white nations of the West that they will feel no need of adopting Occidental militarism in order to compel justice, respect and fair treatment. There is only one possible and real solution for this problem. It is the consistent and persistent application of the Golden Rule*

[1] A more complete statement of the legislation needed for the regulation of all immigration has already been given (cf. Chapter VIII).

in international politics. The establishment and maintenance of Christian international relations with the Far East, and the successful prosecution of missionary work in such countries as China, and especially now Japan, are intimately dependent on maintaining fair and friendly treatment of their citizens in our country. We must deal with Asiatics on a basis of justice and good-will, doing to them as we would have them do to us.

CHAPTER X

The Christian Crusade for a Warless World

The Old Vision
The New Vision
The New Task
The New Spirit

"Christian men in all lands should co-operate in establishing a Christian world-order, in which the principles of universal justice and good-will shall be embodied in the laws, institutions, and customs that control their governments in international relations."

—FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

THE CHRISTIAN CRUSADE FOR A WARLESS WORLD

"How can these things be?" is the age-old question of Nicodemus and of all doubters and sceptics when they catch glimpses of wonderful visions. "Ye must be born anew," is the answer of Jesus and of every seer. "Not by might, nor by power saith the Lord of Hosts, but by my Spirit" shall these things be.

Now is coming to fresh fulfillment that ancient word of the prophet Joel:

> And it shall be in the last days, saith God,
> I will pour forth my spirit upon all flesh.
> And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy
> And your young men shall see visions
> And your old men shall dream dreams.

Millions of Christians, young and old, men and women, filled with divine discontent, are seeing visions, stirred by the Spirit of the Living God. They hate the old vision of pomp and power held up before the eyes of men in every age by the great deceiver. The scales have fallen from millions of eyes. The new spirit is stirring in millions of hearts. The two Visions stand out clearly before them in their appalling contrast.

The Old Vision.

Again the devil taketh him unto an exceeding high mountain and showeth him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and he said unto him, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me."

Vision of World Empire
Result—HELL ON EARTH
Selfishness Ambition Aggression
Pride Arrogance Disdain Scorn Self-Conceit
Animosity Enmity Hatred Rage Lust
Unfriendliness
Insincerity Deceit Trickery Treachery Suspicions
Spies Lies
Brutalities Murders Wars Destructions
Pillage Carnage Rape
Atrocities Agonies
Cripples Widows Orphans Refugees
Poverty Famine Disease
Victories Oppressions Injustice Luxury Degeneracy
Defeats Humiliation Despair Shame
Suicides
Resentments Revenge
Plottings Rebellions
Recurring ad Infinitum

The New Vision

Behold a King shall reign in righteousness; and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and might, of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord.

Vision of The Kingdom of God
Result—A WARLESS WORLD—HEAVEN ON EARTH
Justice Righteousness
Good-will Sympathy Helpfulness
Brotherliness Unselfishness
Sincerity Frankness Trustworthiness
Trust Confidence
Teachableness Dependableness
Appreciation Approval Friendship Love
Honesty Truthfulness Integrity
Civilization Communication
Travel Trade Commerce
Prosperity Abundance Comfort Wealth Health
Co-operation Organization Credit
Science Understanding Mastery
Education Literature
Sculpture Painting Music
Philosophy Religion Insight
Uplift Happiness Peace Harmony Joy Hope
Progress ad Infinitum

The complete opposition of civilization and Christianity to militarism is clear. These upward movements of the spirit begin to see that militarism like a viper is poisoning their life-blood. They therefore demand the abolition of war and the establishment of a new world order, where truth and justice and security may dwell, with peace and honor.

But in our condemnation of militarism as a system, we must not minimize the heroism of millions of men who have engaged in war. In many a land liberty has been won and maintained only by war. Justice and honor have often been preserved only by war. Heroic men throughout the ages have sacrificed their comfort and too often their lives in defence of home and native land. It is right and fitting that they should be remembered by their countrymen. Honor and reverence for our men, however, should not blind our eyes to the inherent evil of the pagan method of settling international disputes. The time has come for us to be done forever with such an un-Christian institution.

In this war upon war, many kinds of leaders will have their contribution to make. No single group can achieve success alone.

Scientists, chemists and *physicists* will make known the growing destructions of a warring world. *Biologists* will show how war kills off the choicest of our young manhood, leaving defectives, criminals, morons, dwarfs, in preponderant numbers, to propagate the race. *Sociologists* and *economists* will teach us how war entails poverty, brings famine and pestilence, disorganizes the processes of production, trade and exchange, breaks down the social order, multiplies the evil of capitalism, creates discontent among the masses, and generates political upheavals. But men cannot be frightened by such facts to abandon preparations for war, so long as these preparations are felt

to be essential to national security, honor, and a chance to live at all.

Jurists, Statesmen and *Legislators* can show us how the world must be organized for justice and order. They can tell us about international law, about courts of justice, about boards of arbitration and conciliation. "This is the way to a Warless World, walk ye in it," they can say to the nations. And their word will be a great help.

Educators in universities, colleges and common schools will train the youth, give true understanding of history, show what war has done and will always do, what war has not done and can never do. They will show what the great intellectual, moral and spiritual leaders of mankind have accomplished in discovering truth, mastering nature, creating beauty, practicing goodness, and entering into fellowship with God. It is theirs to disclose to the rising generation the part for them to take in the recreation of society, in which justice may prevail and by which each nation may take its rightful place in the society of nations.

But important though these various contributions are, they are not enough. One thing more is needful. It is the spirit of international and inter-racial good-will, of justice to all, of reconciliation between races and nations. Millions of men in many lands must gain "the will to brotherliness." We of the white races especially must learn to look at our history as the black man looks at it, as the Asiatic looks at it, as God looks at it. We must have a sense of guilt for national sin, and a spirit of repentance, deep and genuine. We need as nations the regenerating work of the Spirit of the Living God in the innermost parts of our national hearts and wills. The creation of this spirit is the peculiar work of the Church, and the special contribution which it has to make in the war upon war. The reconciling and redemptive program of the Church must, from now on, deal with

nations and races no less than with individuals. Friendship and good-will between nations and races must replace estrangement and enmity. This is the Kingdom of God, to be established "on earth as it is in Heaven." It is to include men of every class and nation, of every race and tribe. All are to be reconciled. This is the supreme task of the Church.

To accomplish it, however, the Church itself needs to gain a vital grasp on the real meaning of the Atonement, the suffering love of God revealed in Christ for the reconciliation of sinful man. That work is still in process. The Triune God is still suffering because of the continuing estrangement and sin of his children. And in this reconciling work all who have been redeemed, who have entered into His life and become partakers of His character are, as Paul states it, "co-workers together with Him." They too, through their sacrificial service for the salvation of fellow-men are partakers in the atoning work. Thus do His disciples share with Him in His suffering for the sin of the world, and rejoice with Him in its reconciliation and redemption.

There is no power in human history that can do this work save religion. It must create new men out of old. Vital religion, the religion of Jesus, comes to man not merely with a message of comfort; not merely with negative commands, "Thou shalt not"; not even merely with positive demands, "Thou shalt." Vital religion is the greatest of all creative forces. Religion gives a new spirit; old things pass away; scales fall from long-blinded eyes. What men once loved, they love no more. What once they ignored or despised they now cherish. In place of the spirit of selfishness, suspicion, greed, hate and fear, comes the spirit of brotherliness, justice, goodness, service. By vital, spiritual religion men are raised above their tiny, temporal, passing selves. They feel their oneness with the eternal, the infinite, the absolute. They sing *new songs* of joy; they write great poems and dream great

dreams; they speak, they plan, they build, they live, not for self, not for time, but for fellow-men, for mankind, for eternity, for God.

Only a vital and a vitalizing religion can bring a Warless World. No merely intellectuual message, however cogent, no appeal to the "enlightened self-interest of mankind" can do it. Men's hearts must be changed. Their minds must be enlightened. There must come into the life of millions of men the spirit of good-will, of fair play, of justice. Deeds of good-will and of service can alone disarm suspicion and banish fear. Spiritual disarmament must precede physical disarmament. Not until nations stop hating and fearing and suspecting each other, not until they develop confidence in each other's good intentions can we expect any very sweeping reduction of armaments.

Mankind has come to another fork in the road of its fateful history. To the left, controlled by the ancient vision of imperialistic power and pomp, by the spirit of pride, arrogance, selfishness, greed and ambition, lie conflicts, armaments, wars, destruction.

To the right, controlled by the new vision of the Kingdom of God, the spirit of good-will, of justice, of truthfulness, of co-operation, lie world-courts and world-laws, disarmament, social welfare, a Warless World. This is the way of life for men and for nations, and the only way. The spirit must dominate *our* nation if we are to take *our* proper and helpful place in the universal society of nations. To create this spirit is the distinctive contribution of Religion to the war upon war. Thus will it become the New Crusade.

Workers for a Warless World must not, of course, ignore the great international achievements already made in man's long march to the promised land. Many movements and agencies already exist. They give assurance that much

more can be secured in the decades ahead. We indicate here only a few of the many scores of societies, institutions, commissions and committees that already begin to bridge the nations and even the races, partial embodiments of the Christian ideal:

The International Red Cross
The International Young Men's and Young Women's Societies
The International Society for Christian Endeavor
The International Christian Student Federation
The Inter-Parliamentary Union
The International Postal Union
International Labor Organizations (hundreds)
International Socialist Groups
International Women's Groups
International Scientific Groups
International Educational Groups
The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches
International Church organizations, such as the Pan-Presbyterian Union, the Ecumenical Methodist Conference and the Lambeth Convention

Every year since the middle of the last century, increasing numbers of great international gatherings have been held in the principal cities of Europe—particularly in Holland and Switzerland. Geneva and The Hague have been famous for the number of international organizations that make those cities their headquarters and for the number of important international conventions, conferences, congresses, commissions and committees that meet in them.

International industrial, artistic and educational expositions have likewise been held in many lands. These have rendered incalculable service in promoting mutual understanding and appreciation, in creating the international *mind.*

The Spirit of the Living God bloweth where He will. He uses any man, any organization that yields to His influence and moves to do His purpose. It is not the ecclesiastical pedigree of any Church, not its theological orthodoxy, not the regularity of its orders that determine its acceptableness to Him and its fitness to be His agent. All depends on its spirit and actual deeds. By their fruits ye shall know them, applies to Churches no less than to individuals.

The Great War is over. Millions of young men lie in their graves because of wrong international feelings, motives, activities. Other millions of civilians have perished through famine and pestilence. The tortured nations still writhe and toss. They stagger like drunken men, drunk with the blood of the victims and the victors. They are calling for salvation. Who will succor them? What adequate agency exists among the nations to grapple with the evil spirits that time and time again set loose the heartless monster of war? What power can bind that demon and cast it out forever from this long-suffering world?

This is the *New Task* that is laid on the Churches of the world. One by one through the centuries the Church, in spite of its defects and human frailties, has slowly been learning its lessons. It has been led step by step to take on new tasks. The saving of the individual soul, reconciling him to God and bringing peace of mind through forgiveness and regeneration, with joy and hope in the Holy Spirit: this has been the abiding task of the Church through all the ages.

But new visions have come and new tasks have been accepted. In ancient times the spirit of Jesus, working through the Church, abolished the slaughter of gladiators for the amusement of the masses. The spirit of Jesus, transmitted from age to age by the Church, established the Christian home, emancipated women, discovered the

child, attacked the wrongs and cruelties of prisons, and has sought to alleviate suffering and famine and pestilence in every age. The Church has sought, age after age, in its missionary enterprise, to carry the Gospel to every land. The Church is grappling today with the monsters of alcoholic drink, commercialized vice, and the traffic in destroying drugs. Many have been the tasks of the Church. But a new task is now laid on the Church; a new challenge has been sounded forth to its leaders. War must be abolished.

The *New Task* is one in which all Christians can heartily unite. However they may differ in their views of theology and Christology, of nature, of history, of the Church; whether they are Presbyterian or Methodist or Episcopalian; Protestant or Roman Catholic; whether even they are "pacifists," "non-resistants" and "conscientious objectors," or ardent and militant Christians, the concrete program for a Warless World should appeal equally to them all. For all can agree that war is contrary to the spirit of Jesus and that practical measures must be taken to abolish it. A Christian world-order cannot be founded on hatred between races and nations, nor maintained by the bare brute force of bayonets and battleships. The only enduring basis for world peace is a world-order that is essentially Christian. It must be brotherly and helpful; it must embody the "will to justice"; it must possess the international institutions by which alone that will can be realized, so that justice and security may be assured for all alike. This is a concrete program, an inspiring task, and a mighty challenge on which all Christians of every people, of every race and of every shade of thought can whole-heartedly unite.

New tasks demand new leaders inspired with the new visions. Men in every church should be set aside to study these new questions, to preach, instruct, inspire and guide *the millions* of members in their new duties. The

Churches need special agents to carry on the campaign for a Warless World, just as they need special agents to carry on their respective programs for home missions, for church erection, for Christian education, for young people's movements, for foreign missions.

This new task is immensely difficult, so difficult that not a few pronounce it impossible. Vast industrial interests in every land flourish through preparations for war. There are makers of munitions, builders of warships, merchants and contractors who sell to governments that pay each month scores of millions for steel and chemicals, food and clothing. There are thousands upon thousands of mechanics and carpenters and workmen whose entire living depends on war industries. There are scores of thousands of officers in every land, Generals, Admirals, Colonels, Majors, and all the way down the line, whose entire training and thinking has been turned exclusively to war and preparations for war. Their honorable status in society depends on the maintenance of the war system, and they count themselves the chief custodians of loyalty and patriotism. With notable exceptions, especially in America and Great Britain, to such persons the mere idea of a Warless World is a foolish, unpatriotic and even dangerous delusion. They can visualize international relations only in terms of a warring world. Unscrupulous ones among them, moreover, sometimes seek to foment war by falsehood and wrong deeds. Actual war is their chance of rapid promotion and profit. And there are spies in every country, and an unscrupulous, sensational press. There are, finally, the age-old, deep-seated animosities of nations with their ancient race-prejudices, misconceptions, misunderstandings and injustices. Will the white peoples ever voluntarily deal justly with the black and yellow races? And is it thinkable that the latter will permanently and tamely submit to unending white race injustice and arrogance?

Is it possible, then, to believe in the practicability of a Warless World? No, frankly speaking, in the writer's opinion, it is not possible unless one really believes in God, in Christ, in the Holy Spirit, in Man, in the reality of regeneration, and in the progressive education and elevation of the human race.

A Warless World will not be achieved in a year, or a decade; perhaps not in a century. But surely in the fullness of time it will come when the Christian Churches of many lands have done their part.

We have in America 45,000,000 Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians connected with the Churches. The vast majority of these men and women really desire world-peace. Can we not somehow connect these millions of individual batteries with some central motor, and bring their united power into our political system to drive its wheels by Christian, instead of by pagan, ideals and motives? This is our immediate concrete task.

The next great forward step for Christians in every land is the Crusade for a Warless World, a Crusade fired with holy and invincible enthusiasm, receiving joyous support from millions. The opportunity of the ages is before us. The suffering, war-sick world awaits our response to the call of the Prince of Peace.

APPENDICES

I. What to Do
II. The Rights and Duties of Nations
III. Striking Quotations
IV. Suggestive Questions for Leaders of Discussion Groups
V. Societies and Organizations in the United States Promoting International Understanding and Good-Will
VI. Bibliography

APPENDIX I

What to Do

To establish a Warless World many practical steps must be taken. Individuals, churches, church councils and federations, and national denominational organizations—all have responsibilities and duties.

APPENDIX I

What to Do

A. What Individuals Can Do

Accept Personal Responsibility. This is the starting point for any great movement. Individuals who recognize and accept personal responsibility form the dynamic centers for the local church and the community in which they live. The conviction and activity of a few individuals help the entire church and community to believe in the practicability of a Warless World. "Let George do it" is a natural feeling. It is, however, a serious failure. No moral achievement has ever been made by that spirit. Individuals become influential in their communities by accepting and standing for definite forward-looking ideas and programs. They become outstanding persons and strong personalities in proportion as they adopt big visions, make them their own and become living incarnations of those visions.

Help Circulate Literature. Many important books and pamphlets dealing with the ideals and programs of a Warless World have been and are constantly being produced. Write for their recent literature to the various organizations listed in this Appendix. Help get this literature circulated. Fiction secures circulation quite largely through readers who enthusiastically tell their friends of what they have read. Read good books on a Warless World and then talk about them. See that your town or city library gets the best recent books. Have a shelf in the public reading rooms set aside for these books, in a place easily accessible to readers. Get leaflets and pamphlets and distribute them. Place them in railway stations where people can take them. There are numberless ways by which literature can be circulated.

Learn to Talk on a Warless World. Conversation is the most important method of promoting ideas. To be interesting and effective one must have facts and figures and illustrations well in hand. Master the statistics about the great war. Be

ready to present the causes of war, the costs of war and the cure for war. People will be interested in these matters if the speaker has them well in hand. One does not need to be a great orator or lecturer to talk effectively to individuals and small groups. Good talking is a habit to be learned.

Write Letters to Congressmen. To establish a Warless World there must be a vast deal of legislation. Congressmen vote the appropriations, they decide whether these shall be large or small. Congressmen decide America's international policies. They need to know what the people think about the various political questions. It is right and proper that their constituencies should inform them as to their desires. When they are candidates for election it is desirable that pointed and definite questions be put to them in regard to their policies on Army and Navy and other questions dealing with the program for a Warless World.

Value of Resolutions and Petitions. Resolutions passed in mass meetings or petitions signed by hundreds or even thousands of names do not have very great weight with Congressmen because they know how easy it is for some enthusiast to secure them and how little real knowledge and interest most of the signers have in the subject-matter of the resolutions. Personal letters which show knowledge and conviction have far more influence in molding the opinions of legislators.

Interviews. More significant, however, than letters, resolutions or petitions are personal interviews. Call upon your representatives when they are at their homes and talk with them personally about international questions, especially about a Warless World and America's duty and opportunity. Let them know that your knowledge of their opinions on these matters will influence your ballot on election day. If you ever visit Washington, call on your representatives and make it a point to speak on America's international relations as bearing upon the establishment of a world peace-system.

Study Groups. Confer with your pastor or rector or Sunday School Superintendent or some deacon about starting a study course in your church on the Warless World program. Every Christian in every church ought to study some adequate book on this subject. For every Christian has a part to take and a ballot to cast in elections and needs to be educated on these matters so that he may vote right and elect men and women who are in earnest with the program for a Warless World.

Write to Editors. An important way to use your influence is to write letters and short articles to your local newspaper about international issues. This will require much knowledge

and thought and skill. It will help you to do this effectively if you have become fairly familiar with the literature, the facts and the statistics of a Warless World. Such writing will be interesting and valuable for you; it will help you to grow; it will help you master your facts; it will also be of benefit to the public. Editors are glad to know what their readers are interested in.

B. What the Local Church Can Do

The Pastor. The people naturally look to the pastor for guidance and inspiration. Yet he can accomplish little unless his congregation respond. He can preach upon the ideals of a Warless World yet he must guard carefully against preaching upon it too often. One of the most eminent pastors in the United States, a valiant foe of militarism, preached so often upon this subject that his people became tired and dissatisfied. The pastor must also take care to avoid the issues of party politics in his sermons dealing with war and peace. He has in his congregation Republicans and Democrats, perhaps Socialists and Prohibitionists. It is his duty indeed to declare the Christian ideals of brotherhood, of justice, of international good-will and co-operation, but just how in specific details these principles are to be applied in national and international politics it is not for him as a pastor to declare from the pulpit.

The pastor may also in the conduct of the prayer meeting and other services for which he has responsibility, direct the thought of his people to the subject of a Warless World—leading them to its study and to the formation of intelligent opinion. In many ways the pastor can exert most helpful influence in guiding his people to understand the world situation and to do their part in co-operation with fellow-Christians in this and in other lands.

Group Leaders. In every church there are various groups of young people and adults; some assemble for the exclusive study of the Bible; some are especially interested in Home Missions; others in Foreign Missions. Young Peoples Societies seek to promote the spiritual life. These groups constitute natural centers in each church for the cultivation of the international mind. Without in the least interfering with their central purpose, but rather promoting it, the study at some time during each year of the problems of international life might well be taken up. The leaders and program-makers of

these groups are the natural persons to propose such studies and to select the material. Yet any member of such groups who is interested to do his part in establishing a Warless World may well confer with the leader and help cultivate the interest of the group in such study.

Sunday School Teachers. Probably no persons are more important in establishing a Warless World than the hundreds of thousands of Sunday School teachers in this and other lands. For they have in their hands, Sunday after Sunday, the plastic minds of millions of children of the coming generation. If the children are clearly and intelligently instructed in these matters the results cannot fail to come in due time. Care should be taken not to glorify war itself when honor is paid to the noble men who have died for their countries. The horror and the wrongs and the futility of war should be made clear. The positive constructive substitute for war should by all means be stated and emphasized. Sunday School teachers, therefore, should familiarize themselves with the fundamental principles of a Warless World, with the pertinent statistics and illustrations, weaving the facts and illustrations into the regular program of their Sunday School lessons.

Sunday School Teachers. Probably no persons are more im-their highly important task most Sunday Schools provide teachers' classes. Here is the natural place in which Superintendents can help teachers in finding interesting illustrative material and in stimulating their thought. For this of course the Superintendent needs to be himself familiar with the most useful literature. In case he finds himself not fully equipped, he might well invite some competent person—man or woman—to speak occasionally on this subject to his teachers. He might arrange, in co-operation with the pastor, for four or five lectures each year for the benefit of the entire church membership on such subjects as the Causes, the Costs and the Cure of War.

The Superintendent might also secure three or four times each year short, six or eight-minute, talks during the opening or closing exercises, by some person gifted in speaking to children on this subject. Charts and diagrams might well be hung up before the entire school and briefly explained.

Attention should also be given to the books in the Sunday School library. What does it have on War? And on Peace? The best books on these subjects should be secured. The attention of the young people should be particularly called to *these* books as well worth reading.

C. What Ministers Associations and City Federations or Councils of Churches Can Do

Community Programs. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has issued a volume entitled "Community Programs for Co-operating Churches" (Association Press, New York). This handy volume of 250 pages describes the ways in which groups of churches are working together on the larger problems of the Kingdom of God, doing those things together which no church can accomplish alone. It is a volume that should be in the hands of every pastor in the United States and also in the hands of all church officials. One chapter deals with international relations and church responsibilities.

A Community Committee. Practically every large town or city of the United States has either a Ministers' Union or Association, or else a regularly organized Federation or Council of Churches. If the churches of America are to take any serious part in establishing a Warless World, these local groups of pastors and Councils of churches will need to form a committee or department for dealing with this general interest.

Membership of the Committee. There should be, so far as practicable, at least one representative on the Committee from each communion. The members should be men and women who believe in constructive policies, both educational and practical. The members should be outstanding and influential laymen, women and pastors, all of whom know how to work and how to work together. The executive secretary of the Council of churches should doubtless be a member ex-officio, but probably should not be its chairman or secretary.

Activities of the Committee. 1. The Committee will be the point of communication between the local community and the national organizations that seek to establish a Christian world order. All efforts to reach the community through its churches and through individuals should usually function through this Committee, which should be considered in every place the nucleus for carrying on the education in behalf of a better world order and better relationships between the different nations.

2. The Committee should know accurately what the churches of the city are doing in the education of their membership in Christian internationalism.

3. The Committee should consider how to approach those pastors and churches that are doing nothing; also how it can best aid those that are at work.

4. The Committee should seek to secure its ends with a minimum of machinery and a maximum of efficiency.

5. Too many meetings should be carefully avoided.

6. Suitable subcommittees on visitation should be appointed to present to the pastor and officers of each local church the principles and program of the Committee with a view to securing their intelligent and sympathetic co-operation.

7. The program and purpose of the Committee should be presented to the regular ministers' meeting of each communion in order to secure their understanding of the proposals and their endorsement of the general plan.

8. The Committee should have an executive Secretary, perhaps some young man or woman, who would give considerable time and thought to its work. He should investigate conditions, keep records, guide the subcommittees on visitation, and co-ordinate the activities of the various churches in the community.

9. The Committee should foster the organization of study groups, and urge the use of some constructive course of study or discussion outline each year.

10. The Committee should try to provide at least one course of popular lectures annually, open to the public, and also a series of sermons in the different churches. When possible it should publish bulletins and in other ways seek to make the ideals of a Christian World Order vital and effective in the local community.

11. The Committee might well seek out in its community one or more groups of foreign born persons, become acquainted with them and co-operate with existing organizations in extending to them the best that the community has to offer. It should seek to make effective such programs of training for citizenship as will best meet the local needs, so that these people will receive from the community what America would do for the nation from which they came.

Committees in Local Churches. A real difficulty is encountered when it is proposed to establish a committee in every local church. The tasks of the local church are many and important. There is a constant call for new committees for each new movement. The danger is lest one or two good causes may absorb the attention and interest of the church to the neglect of other causes that are also important. Moreover, there is a proper solicitude lest the multiplication of societies and committees distract attention and divide the membership into competing groups.

To meet these difficulties the following suggestion is offered: Let the church Council or Ministerial Association establish

one general committee on Educational Courses, with subcommittees, such as those on Home Missions, Foreign Missions, Social Service, Temperance, International Friendship, etc. Each department might be given from three to six weeks each winter for its series of meetings and classes. Thus the entire church membership would receive the needful education in the full program of the church militant and all the members be prepared to do their share in each great task.

Community Normal Classes. A community normal class on Christian internationalism might well be established.

a. The leader should be an experienced teacher.

b. The object of the normal class is not to give lectures on internationalism in general, but to train teachers in Christian internationalism and in methods of instruction who can conduct classes in the individual churches and Sunday Schools.

c. The leader should be thoroughly acquainted with the Warless World literature.

d. Each church should be persuaded if possible to send at least two of its members to attend the normal class.

e. The normal class course should probably be limited to six or eight weeks at most (one session each week) and might well have a regular enrollment fee of $1 or $2 to provide for textbooks or other necessary expenses.

f. The study of Christian internationalism might easily become pedantic, abstract, and unprofitable. Those who select the courses of study should secure textbooks, and teachers suited to their particular classes. As a rule the courses should be short, and the textbooks simple and concrete. As courses are continually improved from year to year, those contemplating the study of Christian internationalism should secure from headquarters the latest information as to the courses available.

Intensive Campaigns. At some time during the autumn or winter the committee might well conduct a two days' intensive campaign consisting of four or five meetings, under some such general topics as "The New Task of the Church," "A Christian World Order," "The New Internationalism," "A Warless World."

a. Co-operation of all the denominations and churches should be secured in this campaign.

b. Local speakers should be largely utilized. Occasionally one or two speakers of national repute might be used.

c. A chorus of young people would add to the effectiveness of the work.

d. A pageant might be given.

e. Suitable literature should be distributed and offered for sale.

f. Decorations should include all national flags.

g. Topics of lectures might well be the Causes of a Warring World, The Ideals of a Warless World, Concrete Programs for Establishing a Warless World, the League of Nations, the Adequate Protection of Aliens, Immigration and International Relations, Disarmament, the Oriental Problem, Relations with Mexico and Latin America, Anglo-American Friendship, Franco-American Relations, Italy's International Problems, etc.

h. Forum discussions and debates can well be made a prominent feature.

D. What Denominations Can Do

The churches have found it necessary in the attainment of a larger efficiency to establish national organizations. A practical program for international righteousness and justice requires their effective co-operation in working for a world free from war.

Denominational Committees. Each Communion might well create a Committee or Commission or Department on International Good-Will. It should include a dozen or more of the outstanding leaders in the church. They should meet not less than once a year to consider with great care the international situation and the international program of their church from the standpoint of the Christian ideal of a Warless World. Their annual message to their church should be as important in the cultivation of public interest and in creating right thought on these matters among their constituency as are the reports and messages of the other church agencies; Home Missions; Foreign Missions; Church erection; Christian Education and the like. In some cases it may perhaps be found more practicable to entrust the international task to some already existing committee or department. Care will have to be taken in that event not to allow the new task to be neglected because of the regular and accustomed duties. The advantages of a distinct committee with its own distinctive name are many and great.

Denominational Specialists. Each Communion might well set apart one of its ablest men to devote his entire time to specialize on international questions. It would be possible for such a man to speak widely in all its churches on the Causes

and the Cure of War and on the duty of individuals and of churches in doing their respective parts in the achievement of a Warless World. This leader would be the spokesman and active representative for the Committee suggested above. Its decisions and programs could be effectively carried out. The rank and file of the pastors would come to rely on his expert knowledge, and the people would be prepared to act on specific matters when their expert leader asks for such action.

A General Staff. The Committees and experts of the various denominations suggested in the foregoing paragraphs might well meet from time to time for mutual information and inspiration, for the formulation of common plans, and for arrangements for their simultaneous execution in all the denominations in all parts of our land. Unified action was found absolutely essential in the "Great War." The same principles hold true in the still greater war ahead—the real war to end war. These experts and Committees might well constitute the "General Staff" of the Commission on International Justice and Good-Will of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

The Religious Press. The religious press of each denomination might be invited to reserve a section of each issue for the publication of international news, the material for which might be prepared by the above "General Staff" of experts. This material being thoroughly reliable would protect the people from the garbled and oftentimes distorted propaganda material fed out to them through the daily press under the direction of sinister capitalistic interests.

The Daily Press. The importance of such a "General Staff" of Christian experts to guide the opinion and action of the Christian forces of the United States that desire to establish a Warless World is manifest from a consideration of our situation in regard to international news. At present it is powerfully influenced by "big business." The information that gets to the public through the press is seriously garbled; important facts are frequently withheld; events are partially reported. The purpose is to create popular opinion that will not interfere with the projects of "big business" and "big politics," which often go hand in hand. These are the factors which produce international ill-will, hostility and, finally, war.

Our proposed Christian "General Staff" will make it its special business to know the facts, and to get those facts to the pastors and the churches whether the commercial press will publish them or not. No more serious difficulty confronts

all workers for world justice and world peace than the need for an absolutely impartial press. We do not have it now. We have a capitalistic press; a socialistic press, a labor press. Few of the papers apparently are free to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Our popular judgments, therefore, on all kinds of difficult questions are based on inadequate knowledge, often even on sheer fiction. If we are ever to solve these difficult problems, to have right judgments and secure right actions, we must emancipate ourselves from the control of public opinion by any "interest."

The Ballot and a Warless World. America's national life and international relations will not be Christian until millions of Christians use their ballot to elect men who will stand for Christian principles. We have banished the saloon from America by this method. We must now banish war from the world. An important step in this war upon war would be for City Federations or Councils of Churches and for Ministerial Associations to ask each candidate for Congress to answer specific questions in regard to his principles and policies as bearing upon international relations, and then to let all pastors and church members know the replies.

In closing this section on what to do to help establish a Warless World notice may well be taken of the charge that is sometimes made that the churches have done nothing in the past to prevent war, or even to register their condemnation of war. This charge is not true. The Friends (Quakers), both of England and the United States, from the very beginning of their history have been noted for their testimony against war. So powerful has been their conviction as to the wrong and folly of the whole war method that the vast majority of their membership are "conscientious objectors." There are also other small Christian bodies which take the same unequivocal position.

In the large denominations, also, many individuals have raised their voices. In nearly every national church gathering in the United States during the decade before the Great War, resolutions were often passed condemning war and rejecting it as a means for settling international disputes. The principle of arbitration was widely advocated. Millions of Christians earnestly favored the proposals of the Hague Conference (1899 and 1907). Under the pressure of Christian opinion in America the United States has made treaties of arbitration with many *important* nations.

In 1905, when the first steps were being taken to establish the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, one of the objects affirmed was to promote the cause of international peace. When the Council was finally established (1908) by the ratifying votes of thirty different denominations, which became constituent members, at the first meeting of the Council a Committee on Peace and Arbitration was created; now the Commission on International Justice and Good-Will. The Church Peace Union, established in 1913, and the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, an international body created in 1914, having Councils now (1922) in twenty-six countries, bear witness to the rising conviction of Christians in various lands that they must unite in the grapple with the curse of war. The record of the activities of the Commission, with those of the Alliance and of the Church Peace Union, filled three volumes of the Third Quadrennial Report of the Federal Council published in 1916.

In the autumn of 1913 the churches of Switzerland issued a clarion call and warning to the Christians and churches of the world. Many earnest Christians in England and Germany were bestirring themselves. For several years between 1908 and 1912 large delegations of English pastors visited Germany, and German pastors visited England in the interest of promoting better understandings and feelings between the two countries. It was the churches of the two countries that were really trying to avert the threatening war.

During and since the Great War the churches of Great Britain and America have been manifesting increasing interest in the problem of universal peace. The powerful League of Nations Union in England is largely supported by the churches.

In the United States, likewise, not a little is being done by the churches. Their interest in abolishing war was manifest before the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament. And it was particularly effective in helping to create a wholesome public opinion that made that Conference a success and that finally secured the ratification of the Treaties. Let a brief summary of the events tell the story.

The churches in response to a nation-wide appeal by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Board and the two Jewish National organizations observed Sunday, June 6, 1921, as Disarmament Sunday, when tens of thousands of sermons were preached upon this question. On June 21, 1921, a monster petition was pre-

sented to President Harding signed by 22,500 clergymen asking him to call a conference of the nations to reduce the navies and to put an end to competitive navy building programs. On July 10 he issued the informal invitations and on August 11 the formal invitations. From the beginning of September until the ratification of the treaties in May, the churches evinced extraordinary interest in the success of the Conference. Scores of thousands of special meetings were held and sermons preached, especially during Armistice Week. During the Conference petitions and personal letters were sent to Washington by the million. Early in January, 1922, official information stated that 11,135,187 persons had been heard from and that of these "more than 10,000,000 stated they were praying for God's blessing and guidance for the Conference."

The Commission on International Justice and Good-Will of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America continued from September, 1921, until the ratification of the Treaties, its campaign of education for a "Warless World," issuing a series of pamphlets and leaflets all bearing those words in the title. There were published and distributed some 6,756,000 pages of this material for the use of churches.

It is not altogether true, therefore, that until the war came Christians and churches were doing nothing to prevent war. Their activities were, indeed, not sufficient to prevent the Great War. Many Christians were apathetic. The great mass of the people, moreover, took no interest whatever in anti-war discussions and programs. They often ridiculed it. They did not think of it as a religious question at all. Until after the war broke out, few, even in the churches, ever thought of war as a matter in which churches had responsibility. But this state of mind is not hard to understand or explain. The Christian gospel has for centuries been understood and interpreted as a message for individuals alone. Individuals are to be saved from sin, reconciled to God, prepared for Heaven. That the church has a task to perform in saving nations, and especially in saving nations from war, is a very recent idea that is only now laying hold of the Church.

APPENDIX II

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS

Adopted by the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW *at its First Session in the City of Washington, January 6, 1916.*

Whereas the municipal law of civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness as added by the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights; and

Whereas these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, create a duty on the part of the peoples of all nations to observe them; and

Whereas according to the political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and the universal practice of the American Republics, nations or governments are regarded as created by the people, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are instituted among men to promote their safety and happiness and to secure to the people the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; and

Whereas the nation is a moral or juristic person, the creature of law, and subordinate to law as is the natural person in political society; and

Whereas we deem that these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the states forming the society of nations; and

Whereas these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof, are, when stated in terms of international law, the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence;

the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations; the right of equality in law and before law; the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdictions therein; and the right to the observance of these fundamental rights; and

Whereas the rights and the duties of nations are, by virtue of membership in the society thereof, to be exercised and performed in accordance with the exigencies of their mutual interdependence expressed in the preamble to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences, recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations; it should therefore be universally maintained by the nations and peoples of the world, that:

I. Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the state to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending states.

II. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other states, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other states.

III. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

IV. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

V. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

VI. International law is at one and the same time both national and international; national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the *society of* nations involving its principles.

APPENDIX III

STRIKING QUOTATIONS

"Selected Quotations on Peace and War" (Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America) is a veritable storehouse of wisdom and inspiration. Quotations, classified under twelve general topics and ninety-six subheads, are given from nearly two hundred writers and twice that number of volumes. They constitute the cream of a large peace library. This volume should be found in every public and also in every Sunday-school library. It should likewise be possessed and used by every pastor. It was published in 1915 and therefore does not refer to the wealth of material produced during the Great War. The following sentences are but scattered examples of the new material that should be gathered into another volume of "Selected Quotations."

"A day will come when bullets and bombs shall be replaced by ballots, by the universal suffrages of the people, by the sacred arbitrament of a great Sovereign Senate, which shall be to Europe what Parliament is to England, what the Diet is to Germany, what the Legislative Assembly is to France. A day will come when a cannon shall be exhibited in our museums, as an instrument of torture is now, and men shall marvel that such things can be.

"A day will come when we shall see those two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, in face of each other, extending hand to hand over the ocean, exchanging their products, their commerce, their industry, their art; their genius clearing the earth, colonizing deserts, and ameliorating creation under the eye of the Creator.

"To you I appeal, French, English, Germans, Russians, Slavs, Europeans, Americans, what have we to do to hasten the coming of the great day? Love one another."—VICTOR HUGO.

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world and all the wonder that would be:

Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales.

"Heard the heavens fill with shouting and there rained a ghastly dew
From the Nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south wind rushing warm
With the standards of the peoples plunging through the thunderstorm.

"Till the war-drum throbbed no longer and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the World.
Then a common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber lapt in universal law."

—TENNYSON.

"Ez fer war, I call it murder,—
There you hev it plain and flat;
I don't want to go no furder
Than my Testyment fer that."

—LOWELL.

"The tumult and the shouting dies;
The captains and the kings depart:
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!"

—KIPLING.

"If my soldiers would really think, not one of them would remain in the ranks."—FREDERICK THE GREAT.

"I doubt if war ever really settled anything. It unsettles everything."—NAPOLEON.

"The more I study the world, the more am I convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable."—NAPOLEON.

"The lessons of the last six months should be enough to convince everybody of the danger of nations striding up and down *the earth* armed to the teeth. . . . Unless some such move is

made (reduction of armaments) we may well ask ourselves . . . whether we are doomed to go headlong down through destructive war and darkness into barbarism."—GENERAL PERSHING.

"There never was a time when, in my opinion, some way could not be found to prevent the drawing of the sword."—GENERAL GRANT.

"If the clergymen of the United States want to secure a limitation of armaments, they can do it now without further waste of time. . . . The responsibility is entirely on the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last one should come, they will be responsible for every drop of blood that will be shed and for every dollar wastefully expended."—GENERAL BLISS.

"My first wish is to see this plague to mankind (war) banished from the earth—to see the whole world in peace and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind."—WASHINGTON.

"Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this—that the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind."—WILSON.

"We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standard of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among individual citizens of civilized states."—WILSON.

"The one sure way to recover from the sorrow and ruin and staggering obligations of a world war is to end the strife in preparation for more of it, and turn human energies to the constructiveness of peace."—HARDING.

"War is not paid for in war time, the bill comes later."—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

"We consider that the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations deserve as much respect as those of the great empires. We pretend to no rights, privileges, or power that we do not freely concede to each of the American Republics."—ROOT.

"Productive labor is staggering under an economic burden too heavy to be borne unless the present vast public expenditures are greatly reduced. It is idle to look for stability or the assurance of social justice or the security of peace, while wasteful and unproductive outlays deprive effort of its just reward, and defeat the reasonable expectation of progress. . . . There can be no final assurance of the peace of the world in the absence of the desire for peace, and the prospect of reduced armaments is not a hopeful one unless this desire finds expression in a practical effort to remove causes of misunderstanding and to seek ground for agreement as to principles."—HUGHES.

"The only wise course is to end competitive navy building, not for one year or five years, and not by a few nations, but for all time by all nations."—DANIELS.

"Peace is not the product of documents. Peace is the product of good will among men."—HOOVER.

"From the standpoint of labor it is more constructive to destroy a battleship than to build one."—GOMPERS.

"I am a Wall Street man, supposedly conservative. I think I am conservative in my underlying instincts. The world has tried for years now a policy of timid cautiousness and fear which has left it in an awful mess. How would it be if the world tried a policy of audacious kindliness, mercy and faith? I say, 'Let us throw our purse, our hearts and our brains open all around, mentally, actually and morally, and what will happen? I think something very much better than has happened in the last three years.' "—OTTO KAHN.

"Civilization is ultimately dependent on the ability of men to co-operate. The best barometer of civilization is the desire and ability of men to co-operate. The willingness to share with others, the desire to work with others is the great contribution which Christianity has given to the world."—BABSON.

"There is nothing glorious which war has brought forth in human nature which peace may not produce more richly."—PHILLIPS BROOKS.

"The principle of unrestricted competition is doomed. It has already drenched the world with blood and it is today filling every country with envy, hatred and strife. We must learn a new word—co-operation. The new world order will be built on co-operative effort. Co-operation is the life of trade and when business-men adopt it as the only sound basis of commercial life, business will gain a vitality and prosperity hitherto unknown. Men are created to work together to help one another, to supplement one another's strengths; they multiply their power by linking their hands, and their minds and their hearts. In the new world order the competitive principle will be held in strict subordination to the principle of co-operation."—CHARLES E. JEFFERSON.

"No strands of political or diplomatic understanding can relate the nations inseparably. . . . The tragic need of the world is for an incarnation of a universal brotherly love. The thing never will be made a reality except by incarnation, by such actual functioning of the Christian Church across the world as will utter visibly and tangibly to men the spirit of a universal trust and love. . . . We have listened entirely too long to nonsense regarding chasms run across humanity that can never be bridged. . . . We have got to believe that nations can love one another even across the Pacific Ocean, and the Christian Church must set herself to lead in that affection and we must not content ourselves with projecting the duty into the distant future or looking at the platform that lifts it beyond the level of our immediate and practical duty."—ROBERT E. SPEER.

"Disarmament is the only road to safety for the human race."—LLOYD GEORGE.

"Armed peace has proved itself inevitable war."—A. J. MCDONALD.

"The piling up of armaments is causing general bankruptcy, anarchy and perpetual and universal war. If governments do not agree simultaneously to limit armaments, they commit suicide."—BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT.

"If we do not destroy war, war will destroy us."—BRYCE.

"The most effective factor in getting rid of armaments would be to substitute for national hatred and rivalries a sense of the brotherhood of nations such as our Lord inculcated upon individual men. The idea that 'we are all members one of another' needs to be applied to *peoples*."—BRYCE.

"The illusion that war is a school of character is dead. The illusion that war permanently heightens comradeship within a nation is dead. War as a means to anything great, noble or precious, beyond its own immediate object of escaping violent conquest by others, is as bankrupt before the world as fire or plague. Its casualties to both winner and loser are seen to be not merely losses in life and limb and money, but losses in character, in intellect, in every part of civilization."—THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

"We were not born into the world to hate. We were born to love each other. Let us love."—FRÄULEIN STEINITZ.

"What we mean to propose is a general Congress of nations. . . . Such a Congress and such a League are the only means of realizing the idea of a true public law."—KANT.

"To me, and to all men of English speech, wherever they live and to whatever nation they belong, it seems that the international future of our race lies in, as far as possible, spreading wide the grip and power of International Law, in the raising more and more of the dignity of treaties between States, and that controversies which arise between governments (as in every community they arise between different individuals) should be settled not by the sword, but by arbitration."—BALFOUR.

"There is a growing assumption that a conflict is coming again sooner or later. That is the business of the Churches. . . . Keep your eye on what is happening. They are constructing more terrible machines than even the late war ever saw. What for? Not for peace. What are they for? They are not even to disperse armies. They are to attack cities unarmed, where you have defenseless populations, to kill, to maim, to poison, to mutilate, to burn helpless women and children. If the Churches of Christ throughout Europe and America allow that to fructify they had better close their doors. . . . There is no more horrible alternative than between devilish machinery of slaughter and . . . the cause of right, *liberty and* humanity. What I saw of war day by day makes

me vow that I will consecrate what is left of my energies to make it impossible that humanity shall in future have to pass through the fire, the torment, the sacrilege, the horror and the squalor of war."—LLOYD GEORGE. (*From an address to the National Free Church Council, London, July 28, 1922.*)

Give the children a *true idea* of *war* in their history books and the *next generation* would no more want a war than they would want an *earthquake*. —ZANGWILL.

"Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts.
The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Would appear forevermore the curse of Cain!

"Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease;
And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say, 'Peace!'
Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of war's great organ shakes the skies!
But beautiful as songs of the immortals
The holy melodies of love arise."

—LONGFELLOW.

APPENDIX IV

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS FOR LEADERS OF DISCUSSION GROUPS

The following Questions have been prepared for those who desire to avoid the monotony of the usual "textbook recitation method" and to adopt the method of "group thinking." In this method the class leader is neither a teacher nor a lecturer, but rather a "chairman." His business is to keep the discussion orderly and fruitful as the class seeks to think through the question of the hour and to reach some clear conclusion, as a group, in the light of their common knowledge and their personal convictions. This knowledge and these convictions come to light by the discussion, if properly guided.

It is the leader's business to see that the discussion keeps going, does not get snarled up in details or sidetracked on irrelevant issues. When important side questions appear he states the new fork in the road and holds back on that line till the right time comes, or, if followed, he sees that in due time the class returns to the main question. He seeks to prevent the discussion from becoming a mere debate between the two contending viewpoints or debaters. At suitable points, he summarizes the results reached, distinguishing between conclusions that appear to be unanimous and those that are more or less variant.

The method of "group thinking" will prove more interesting to the class than the recitation method, but will require more preparation on the part of the leader. The class will know that they are reaching their own conclusions, rather than merely accepting those handed down to them. This method, therefore, tends to develop the personality of the individual members and to generate in them a definiteness and a depth of conviction in regard to the conclusions reached beyond that which can ordinarily be secured by the "recitation method."

The questions, it will be noted, do not deal with chapters but with problems. In preparation the members of the class would *do well to* read the entire volume through before its first session. Profitable participation in the class, however, will not

depend on any specific preparation. The leader must, of course, be thoroughly prepared. The more concrete knowledge the individual members may have of war and peace, of economic competition and co-operation, of national policies and of race feelings, the better. But the success of the discussions will not depend on the specific preliminary study of any given few pages of the text.

The leader should have a blackboard available on which to jot down in brief headings and suggestive words the various points made by the members in response to the successive questions. This will keep the course of thought over which the class has traveled constantly before the eye. This method has great value in fertilizing and stimulating the mind of each member of the group.

The number of questions suggested is much larger than can be dealt with in a single study period. The leader will have to choose those topics and questions that promise to be of largest interest and profit to the class. Two or even three sessions of the class might perhaps be devoted to some of the topics.

First Topic

Is War ever legitimate?

1. Define "War"; give a brief preliminary definition. At the close of the discussion, return to the definition and ask if it needs in any way to be reworded.

2. Why do nations arm and sometimes fight? Make as full a list as the class can of the reasons. Are any of these reasons legitimate and right? Mark them with a star. Is it easy to distinguish clearly in every case between legitimate and illegitimate reasons for arming and for war?

3. What is the difference between offensive and defensive war? Germany asserted that she was really on the defense when she invaded Belgium. Was she? Were the Allies fighting on the defensive in invading Gallipoli? Macedonia? Was America fighting defensively in sending her army to France? To Russia (Archangel)?

4. What are the principal differences between a police force and a military force? Make a list of the points of difference; for instance, with regard to purpose, methods of operation, equipment, places of action, organization, numbers, etc. Is an army nothing more than an enlarged and specially drilled police force?

5. Is "civil war," properly speaking, "war?" What are the differences and the resemblances?

6. Is there any difference between soldiers and policemen in their respective states of mind? How do these differences show themselves in their conduct while on active service?

7. What are the mental attitudes toward each other of the peoples that are at war? Make a list of the ways they think and feel and talk about each other.

8. Do any good and noble deeds take place in war? Make two lists of praiseworthy deeds and spirit—one of those characterizing either side to its own members, the other of noble deeds done by one side to members of the other side. Do you think the good deeds and spirit balance the evil?

9. Is there anything in the teaching of Jesus that makes you think he would either approve or disapprove war? Cite passages. Do you think he would condemn all war, even "legitimate" and "necessary" war? Do you think Jesus would approve some and disapprove others?

10. Is the killing of human beings the wrong thing or the worst thing about war? Make a list of the wrong things that usually happen in war. Are some wrong deeds worse than others? Why?

Conclusion. Frame a brief statement upon which the class agrees of the circumstances under which it is legitimate for a nation to wage war. In case of lack of agreement, summarize the various views.

Second Topic

What are the Alternatives before the Nations?

During all past history nations have prepared for war and have waged wars. Many distinguished men are saying that this age-old war-system is no longer possible; that we must either establish a Warless World or we shall have a world destroyed by war. In this discussion period we wish to consider if this is a real alternative.

1. What are the chief differences between war as carried on in former centuries (Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon) and now (Foch)?

a. What about the sizes of their armies?

b. Their means of locomotion?

c. Their supplies of food?

d. Their health?

e. Their weapons?
f. The co-operation of supporting peoples?
g. Their capacity for destruction?
h. Their expense?

2. What are the characteristics of modern civilization that cause these differences? Does the printing press have anything to do with it? What has steam power to do with it? And electric power? Other general factors.

3. Do you think China can acquire the technique of modern science? And of Occidental institutions of government? What effect do you think that will have on the fears and suspicions of Europe and America? And how will those mental attitudes affect international diplomacy and international alliances? And preparations for war? Will it make for world peace or for world war?

4. Has or has not man completed his conquest of nature? If not, in what directions do you expect increasing developments? Will that development have any bearing on methods and destructiveness of war? Will war, being waged by only a few men, highly specialized, be much cheaper? And shorter?

5. Will not any nation stop fighting and make peace with the victor before being completely destroyed? If so, what is the meaning and sense of saying "a warless world or a world destroyed by war?" Is this a mere hysterical utterance? What meaning does it have, if any?

6. Will science make war so terrible that it will stop war because men will not dare to fight? Will men ever be scared into the abandonment of war? Are men as a rule cowards? Did the recent war give any light on this question? Is science on the whole a blessing or a curse? If men can't be scared into stopping war, what motives are there, if any, that will lead them to end war?

7. When Jesus said that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword, was he thinking of individuals or of nations? Is it true that every individual or every nation that appeals to the sword is destroyed by it? If not, was Jesus Christ mistaken? What did Jesus mean? Was Jesus considering the alternatives we are now studying?

8. Is the recent overthrow of Germany an illustration of what Jesus meant to teach? Does the defeat of Germany prove that she was the one that appealed to the sword—that is to say, was she the aggressor? Was the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and the dispersal of the Jews an illustration of what Jesus meant?

9. If it is not literally true that continuation of the age-old war system will completely destroy the world, are the reasons for its abandonment nevertheless compelling? What are they? Make a list.

Conclusion. Summarize the final thought of the class as to whether or not the nations must find a way to end war or themselves be utterly ruined by war.

Third Topic

Can Race Pride and Prejudice be Overcome?

Race pride and prejudice seem to be universal human characteristics. The establishment of a Warless World seems to depend upon their overthrow. We are to inquire what they are, whether they are ineradicable and, if so, how they can be overcome.

1. What do you think are the causes of race pride and prejudice? Is race superiority a cause? If so, why does every race have it? Is there any difference between race pride and race prejudice?

2. Are there races in the United States toward which the average American feels instinctive race aversion? Spontaneous race prejudice? Name them. What is the evidence that such aversion and prejudice exist? (Nicknames? Laws? Treatment?)

3. What is the real nature of race prejudice? Is it mere feeling? Does it consist of judgments? Is it a mixture of both? Is it based on knowledge or on ignorance? Is it subconscious? Inherited? Do children feel it?

4. To what kind of conduct does race prejudice lead? How has race prejudice led Americans to treat the Chinese? Japanese? Mexicans? Negroes? American Indians? Do all Americans feel and act the same way about these various races?

5. Can we distinguish between race-pride and race-prejudice, approving the former and condemning the latter? If so, in what respects? Are the principal consequences of race-pride valuable and is the feeling therefore to be cherished?

6. In what teachings did Jesus deal with race prejudice? (Luke 4: 24-27; 10: 25-37). Did He agree with and accept the race prejudices of His people? If not, did He merely casually disagree or did He vigorously oppose them? Do you *think that* Jesus intended His disciples to be free from race-*prejudice?* Can you find any passages to show what Jesus

thought about races as superior or inferior? (Cf. Matt. 25: 31-46; 10: 5-7; Mark 7: 24-30; Matt. 28: 19-20; Matt. 8: 5-13.)

7. What do you think enabled Jesus to transcend the race prejudice of His people? Did His disciples immediately accept Jesus' viewpoint and were they transformed by His spirit? Are modern Christians Christian in this respect?

8. Do you remember what happened to Peter to change his race prejudice? (Acts 10: 34.) Was he immediately and completely converted on the race question? (Gal. 2: 11-21.)

9. What do you think of the logic of Paul's discussion of the race question in Rom. 1: 16—11: 36. Cf. especially Rom. 10: 12.

10. What were the elements in the Gospel as preached by Paul that made Christianity the faith of many nations?

11. How does the modern foreign missionary movement affect the natural tendencies to race pride and prejudice? Do you know any Japanese or Chinese or Hindus personally? Have you noticed any change in your feelings toward those races since you became a personal friend of one member of the race?

12. Has any race a right to claim intrinsic superiority over all other races? If so, which? On what basis?

13. How far has the Christian confidence in the substantial equality of the races been justified?

14. Are certain races backward because of inherent defeat of gray matter or because of poor opportunities?

15. Are race riots due exclusively to race prejudice or to other causes? List the various causes. What is the duty of a Christian who finds himself in the midst of a race riot? How should he proceed? Would you advise him to get out of the region as fast as possible? Or to arm himself and pitch in to fight both sides and stop the fighting by force? Or should he do something else? What?

16. How can race prejudice be overcome? Suggest practical procedures.

17. Can a Christian be thoroughly Christian and also thoroughly patriotic? Is patriotism a kind of race prejudice? If not, why? If so, why?

18. If race prejudice is overcome and a thoroughly Christian relation is established between members of different races, does that necessarily imply that there should be free social intercourse, ignoring race differences and advocating amalgamation? In either case, why? Does universal human brother-

hood imply and necessitate in the end only one race of men? If not, why?

19. Must race pride and prejudice be completely eradicated from a race or people before it can treat an alien race with real and full justice? For instance, must the white race in the United States be quite free from prejudice before it can be just to Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Negroes and the rest?

20. Must race pride and prejudice among the principal races be completely overcome before a warless world becomes practicable? Is progress in this matter to be achieved suddenly —by a leap—by a miracle? Or slowly, by a spiral? Why do you think so in either case?

Conclusion. Summarize the opinion or opinions of the class as to whether or not there is hope that illegitimate race pride and harmful race ignorance and prejudice will ever be finally overcome.

Fourth Topic

Do Nations and Peoples have Inherent Rights?

There are today sixty or more separate nations or states, each having its own independent "sovereign" government. Many of these nations or empires contain within them groups of peoples, minorities of various kinds, who have become submerged as a result of conflicts and defeats of past ages. War is the conflict between governmentally independent peoples, whether of the same or of different races. Those who sincerely desire a warless world must consider the rights of nations and states and also of submerged peoples.

1. Define a state or sovereign nation. Is it merely a physical entity, possessing a certain territory and a definite population? Or is it essentially a psychological and moral entity? Beside territory and population and a single government what other elements enter in to make it a nation or state? (E.g., language, history, customs?) Make a list of the elements.

2. Make a list of the inherent rights of sovereign nations.

3. Does the basis of those rights rest merely in the power of each state to establish by force their observance by other nations, or does it rest in something else? If the latter, in what?

4. Does a State or nation have a soul, a mental and a moral being and life independent of the individuals that compose its population? If so, where is it located? Of what does it consist? If not, is not a "nation" a mere abstraction—

a convenient name or label by which to think of millions of people having certain similarities?

5. If a nation does not have a soul, can it do wrong? Can wrong be done to it by other nations? Was it wrong, for instance, for Japan to annex Korea? Why? Was it wrong for the United States to annex Hawaii? The Philippines? Panama? To occupy Haiti since 1915? Was Germany morally wrong as well as politically stupid to invade Belgium? Why?

6. Are the moral laws which govern the life of nations identical with those for individuals? Is truthfulness one of them? Or generosity? Make a list of those laws. Is there any moral law applying to individuals that does not apply to a nation?

7. If there are national rights, are there national duties? Make a list? Does the United States have any duty to Europe? To France? What? Did the years when France fought and suffered before America entered the war create any obligations which America has still to fulfill? What do you think America should do about the money lent to the European Allies?

8. Do treaties create international rights and duties? Do nations have any rights or duties before treaties are made? What are they? Is violation of a treaty ever justifiable? If certain treaties bring harm to a nation, may not the nation rightly violate them?

9. What do you think of the refusal of the United States to keep her treaty with Korea? Of the violation since 1888 of her treaty with China? Of the resolution of the Senate (still at this writing before the House) to violate the Hay-Pauncefote treaty about the Panama Canal?

10. What is it in modern civilization that tends to make the relations of strong nations toward weak and backward nations immoral?

11. Can a people with a democratic government control its international relations, and keep them moral? How?

12. Are nations subject to God's immutable moral laws? Is your belief on this point only a matter of faith? Or is it supported by sound historical evidence? Is the disaster that has overtaken Germany the result of moral delinquency? Or merely of the more powerful forces of the Allies? Is the disaster that overtook France in the World War, or Great Britain, or Russia, the result of moral delinquency? Show the connection between moral wrong doing of a nation and disaster.

13. Have the submerged minorities in the nations of Europe inherent rights which the dominant majorities are morally

bound to observe? Make a list of those rights. (For instance, Germans under France, Italy and Poland; Hungarians under Roumania; Greeks and Armenians under Turkey; Turks under Greece and Bulgaria; Irish and Indians under British, etc.)

14. Does the United States have any corresponding problems and duties? (Filipinos, Porto Ricans? Chinese? Japanese? Haitians? Indians? Alaskans? Immigrants generally?)

15. Does the answer of Jesus to James and John given in Matt. 20: 20-28 throw any light on the way in which rulers and those in positions of power should deal with those dependent upon them? Does this teaching of Jesus apply only to individuals, or also to nations? Does this throw any light on what America should do? What?

Conclusion. Summarize briefly the decision of the class as to a nation's inalienable rights and inescapable duties.

Fifth Topic

What Constitutes Fair and Just Treatment of Aliens?

It is easy to declare one's acceptance of just and generous ideals in the abstract. Quite a different matter is it when one comes to concrete questions. Every one wishes to be good, but even good people often find it exceedingly difficult to know just what the goodwill requires in particular circumstances and under specific conditions. Let us consider two definite problems.

I. *Immigration.*

1. Does every person of every people or race have an inalienable right to go anywhere he may desire? Does interference with that desire constitute unjust and unfair treatment? In ancient Russia, Japan and many countries, no person had any rights of travel whatever. Was that unjust? Why?

2. Can a general principle be stated in regard to the rights of an individual to travel? Why are slavery, serfdom, and peonage, unjust invasions of a person's liberty? How do you think President King would answer this question?

3. Can a general principle be stated, justifying the act of a government in preventing or limiting the travel of its subjects?

4. Can a general principle be stated justifying one people *or nation* in refusing permission to persons of another people

or race to settle in or even enter their territory? Is America morally right in excluding absolutely from our land certain classes of aliens (the dangerously diseased, flagrantly immoral, violently radical and wholly illiterate)? On what moral principles can that exclusion be justified?

5. Can we morally justify exclusion of would-be immigrants, otherwise without objection, on exclusively economic grounds? In spite of the economic distress of Europe are we morally right in excluding strong, healthy, morally sound and properly educated immigrants, merely because by their coming in large numbers the prevailing American standards of living and wages may be reduced? Does such exclusion conflict with the Christian principle of universal human brotherhood? Can the two principles be reconciled?

6. Can the complete refusal to Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus of privileges of immigration be justified in the light of their swarming populations with inferior resources, while in the United States are vast areas of uncultivated land and undeveloped resources? Does the marked difference of race affect the logic and the moral aspect of these questions? How?

7. Would the military power of China (when duly developed) to seize and annex our continent make such action right, in view of the larger number of Chinese to be served? Were Europeans justified in taking this continent away from the American Indians because of their superior numbers and military power and ability to develop and to use its natural resources? Can Americans fairly and honorably meet Japanese and Chinese arguments on this matter? Can we completely exclude them from America on thoroughly Christian principles?

II. *Resident Aliens*

8. Can we or can we not justify discriminatory laws affecting aliens lawfully in the U. S.? What valid reason is there for denying to aliens in Pennsylvania the right to own a dog? Or in Illinois, the right to become a barber? How about the discriminatory income tax laws, for instance? Why do legislators propose and legislatures enact such discriminatory and humiliating laws?

9. If you were a Chinese permanently living in America what would you think of our claim to be a just and high-minded nation? If a Japanese were to ask you what a Christion nation is, what would you say to him?

10. What are the laws against which Japanese and Chinese complain? Do you really know what our Asiatic prob-

lem is, or have you uncritically accepted whatever the daily papers report about Asiatics?

11. Is one justified in believing whatever the newspapers say about the Chinese and Japanese? If not, why not? How much is one justified in believing?

12. What kinds of things should Americans do for aliens to help them secure justice and fair opportunity in this country? In general does the prosperity of aliens interfere with that of citizens? If so, why?

13. Are the laws of many states justifiable which forbid the employment of aliens on any job the funds for which are derived from taxes? Where should the line be drawn between state employment of citizens and aliens? On what principle?

14. Does the kind of treatment given to aliens in any country have any effect on international relations, beneficial or otherwise? Illustrate.

Conclusion. Summarize the thought of the class as to:

a. The rights of individuals to migrate.

b. The right of a people to regulate or stop immigration into their territory.

c. The intrinsic rights of lawfully resident aliens in a foreign land.

Sixth Topic

Can the Economic Causes of War be Eliminated or Controlled?

Many students declare that wars are due to the rivalry of nations for the control of economic privileges. This phase of the question demands careful consideration by those who purpose to establish a warless world. Before considering methods of eliminating economic causes of war, the nature of economic rivalry between nations must be studied. Take some concrete cases.

1. What were the economic results of the Franco-Prussian War (1870)—to France? To Germany? Beside the economic results, what were the political results? What results were produced in the international thinking of the German nation? Of the French nation?

2. What were the economic causes of the Russo-Japanese War? What did Russia want? What did Japan want? What were the economic consequences of that war—to Russia? to Japan? What political and psychological results followed?

3. What ambitions did Austria-Hungary have in precipi-

tating the Great War? What have been the economic and political consequences to Austria?

4. What were Germany's ambitions in helping precipitate the Great War? List the various items (in Belgium; France; Balkans; Turkey; Mesopotamia; Africa)? Were the economic consequences what she expected? Briefly describe them.

5. In entering the war, what were the chief French purposes? What have been the chief economic results to France (the expenses; Alsace-Lorraine; North France; annexed German Colonies)?

6. In your opinion, were British motives in entering the war economic or altruistic? Can you strike a balance? What are the economic results of the War for Great Britain?

7. In entering the War, did economic motives influence Canada? Australia? South Africa? India? If so, in each case what was it?

8. Did Russia have economic motives in entering the war? What seem to be her economic gains or losses?

9. In considering the economic causes and consequences of the war what are we to think of Italy's conduct? Her losses and gains? What about Bulgaria? Roumania? Greece? Turkey? Japan? China?

10. And what about the U. S.? Were we altogether altruistic in entering the Great War—having no thought of self-interest? What have been its economic consequences to us?

11. What were the economic considerations and factors that had weight in the calling, in the proceedings and in the results of the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament? Did economic or political or moral considerations have chief weight at that conference?

12. Does an entire nation as such ordinarily have passionate interest in its economic opportunities in foreign lands? If not, who feel those interests? Do the recent items of information given out by the press as to the competition for oil rights by different interests in different lands, throw any light on this whole question of national possession of foreign economic "rights" and privileges?

13. Does the press have any part to play in promoting the war spirit in each nation by cultivating patriotism in connection with economic "needs" and "rights" overseas? Can you illustrate by recent news as to alleged American and Japanese economic rivalry in China? Siberia?

14. Are all Americans vitally interested in the American Merchant Marine? If not, who are especially interested in it?

Is that interest patriotic or economic? Have you evidence for your opinion?

15. Who are interested in high tariff schedules? What effect does a high or a "low" tariff have on a nation's international psychological relations? Does it have that effect through political or economic consequences?

16. In the light of the foregoing considerations and discussions is the elimination of the economic causes that tend to produce war possible or practicable?

17. What do you think of the following suggestions as ways for eliminating dangers of war:

a. Special tariff and trade concessions and agreements between otherwise competing nations? *E.g.* America and Japan?

b. Universal free trade—tariff for revenue only?

c. International Trusts and Corporations, thus binding the capitalists of different countries together in common interests and preventing their rivalry?

d. Universal international agreements of Governments to submit every international dispute, not otherwise solvable, to the Permanent Court of International Justice, or to Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation, with pledges to accept decisions?

e. Socialistic or other plans for the overthrow of the entire capitalistic system in each country?

f. International organizations of labor bound by the general pledge not to fight?

g. International organization of Christians and churches pledged to absolute pacifism?

h. Popular control and overthrow of capitalistic monopolies in every country?

i. Control of the press, freeing it from domination by and subservience to capitalistic interests?

Indicate in the case of each proposal what seem to you its advantages and its weaknesses.

Conclusion. Summarize the opinions of the class as to the possibility and practicability of finally eliminating the economic factor as a cause of war.

Seventh Topic

Is a Warless World Desirable?

Some declare that a Warless World, even though possible, is *not really* desirable. Let us try to think out what a really

Warless World would be like, and contrast it with the world that is surely coming if lavish preparations for war and occasional war are to continue.

1. What in your opinion would the disadvantages probably be of a really Warless World? List the chief points—Physical? Economic? Civilizational? Moral? Spiritual?

2. In contrast to the probable or possible disadvantages of a Warless World what in your opinion would the advantages probably be?

3. Do you see any relation or contrast between Jesus' ideal of the "Kingdom of God" and the civilizational ideal of a Warless World? If so, what? To what degree will reason rule? What will be its achievements in mastering nature? in educating the entire human race? in developing natural resources? in banishing poverty? in overcoming the inequalities of existing societies and races? and in banishing race prejudice? Does preparedness for war and occasional war help or hinder these achievements? Why? How?

Conclusion. Does the class have any real doubt concerning the desirability of a Warless World?

Eighth Topic

Is a Warless World Practicable?

Even though a Warless World may be regarded as supremely desirable, an imperative necessity; even though the alternative may be believed to be the literal extermination of mankind, it does not follow that its achievement may be practicable. The obstacles in the way may be in fact insuperable. This point therefore needs careful study.

1. What are the psychological obstacles to a Warless World, the mutual mental attitudes of nations and races? What mutual attitudes must be developed? List the two kinds of attitudes in parallel columns.

2. Can hostile attitudes be changed into a friendly attitude? How? Cite some illustrations.

3. How long does it take to generate a new national attitude of mind? What recent war propaganda illustrates this point? What suggestion comes from the fact of a well-nigh universal press and reading millions?

4. Beside good-will and high moral ideals what other things are necessary for the establishment and maintenance of a Warless World? What light does the modern traffic officer

throw on the need of official and authoritative international leadership?

5. What are the chief civil institutions by which peace between individuals has been secured in gradually enlarging areas and between increasing millions? Has the attainment of personal security, liberty and justice been increased or diminished by these institutions?

6. Do you think the extension of these institutions to cover the relations of nations with nations would result in promoting security, liberty and justice for them also? If not, why? If so, why?

7. What effect do you think the universal establishment of these institutions would have on the mental and moral attitudes of the nations toward each other? Why?

8. In the light of the considerations thus far discussed, do you regard the demand for a Warless World a fantastic dream, or a really practicable idcal?

9. What can individual Americans do to help set up the institutions and to help create the feelings and understandings, that will ultimately result in a Warless World? List the various activities as concretely as possible.

Conclusion. Summarize the opinion or opinions of the class as to whether or not there is a practical program for the abolition of war and the establishment on firm foundations of a Warless World.

Ninth Topic

Can a True Christian Participate in War?

Not a few persons maintain that a real Christian fully controlled by the ideals and spirit of Jesus can not take part in war. What does the group think on this subject, after carefully considering the various facts and principles involved? Under this head we approach from a somewhat different standpoint and carry somewhat further the discussion begun under our First Topic.

1. What was the teaching of Jesus as to resistance to evil? And the use of the sword? (Refer to conclusions reached in considering the First Topic.) Was His teaching absolute and universal? Did He intend it to apply to nations as well as to individuals? If there are limiting principles, what are they? Can they be clearly stated?

2. As between either individuals or nations does mere *might* ever create right? If the question of right is entirely

and absolutely distinct from that of might, can any question ever be settled right by war? How does this principle affect the use of force by the police? If a Christian may not be a "soldier," may he be a policeman? Why?

3. May a Christian participate in war if he judges the war to be legitimate and necessary? Should a "conscientious objector" refuse to pay taxes?

4. What obligations, if any, does an individual have to the State? Can it properly require him to render any given service? Can it require him to do what he regards as personally wrong? List the rights and duties of an individual in his relations to the State. What are the limits, if any, of the rights of a State in dealing with an individual? How far may it tax him? May it take over all his property?

5. Is a deed right when done in obedience to or for the good of the State which would be wrong if done by a man for his own advantage? Is this a correct statement of the dilemma which faces all soldiers and many statesmen and politicians?

Conclusion. In the opinion of the class, must all true Christians be thorough-going "pacifists" and "conscientious objectors"? Summarize the judgments of the class.

APPENDIX V

SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND GOOD-WILL

Alliance Française, 32 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th Street, New York, N. Y.

American Association for International Co-operation, 105 East 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.

American Association of University Women, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

American Committee for the Outlawry of War, 76 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.

American Peace Society, 612 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

American-Scandinavian Foundation, 25 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

American School Citizenship League, 405 Marlboro Street, Boston, Mass.

American Union Against Militarism, 203 Westory Building, Washington, D. C.

Armenia-America Society, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Association to Abolish War, 14 Roanoke Avenue, Jamaica Plains, Mass.

Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

China Society of America, 19 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y.

Church Peace Union, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Commission on International Justice and Good-Will of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 East 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.

Committee for International Reduction of Armament, 101 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.

Committee on Educational Publicity in the Interests of World Peace, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Committee on Foreign Relations, National Education Association, Washington, D. C.
Council on Foreign Relations, 25 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.

Disarmament Education Committee, 3421 Lowell Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

English-Speaking Union, 6 East 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, 396 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Foreign Policy Association, 3 West 29th Street, New York, N. Y.
France-America Society, 40 Wall Street, New York, N. Y.
Friends of Belgium, 32 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Institute of International Education, 419 West 117th Street, New York, N. Y.
International Cosmopolitan Club, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
International Federation of University Women, 925 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.
International Free Trade League, 38 St. Botolph Street, Boston, Mass.
International Goodwill Association, 147 Kent St., St. Paul, Minn.
International Reform Bureau, 206 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Washington, D. C.
Interparliamentary Union, American Group, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.
Italy-America Society, 26 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y.

Japan Society, 25 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.

League for Political Education, 113 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.
League of Nations News Bureau, 2702 Woolworth Building, New York, N. Y.
League of Nations Union, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

National Committee on American Japanese Relations, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
National Council for Reduction of Armaments, 532 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

National Council of Women, Committee on Permanent Peace, 19 Euston Street, Brookline, Mass.
National League of Women Voters, 532 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
National Reform Association, 209 9th Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
National Student Forum, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Netherlands-America Foundation, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
New York Peace Society, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Pacific Palisades Association, 403 S. Hill Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
Pan-American Union, 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Pan-Pacific Association, Honolulu, T. H.
Peace Association of Friends in America, Richmond, Indiana.
Peace Association of Friends, 20 S. Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Peace Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Poland-America Society, 40 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
Society of the Friends of Roumania, 450 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Society to Eliminate the Economic Causes of War, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
Sulgrave Institution, Woolworth Building, New York, N. Y.

Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Peace Department, Evanston, Ill.
Woman's Committee for World Disarmament, 717 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.
Woman's Peace Party, 116 South Michigan Street, Chicago, Ill.
Woman's Pro-League Council, 303 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Chicago, Ill.
Women's Peace Society, 525 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.
World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
World Friendship Information Bureau, 1010 Arts Building, Chicago, Ill.
World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.

Young Men's Christian Association, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Young Women's Christian Association, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

APPENDIX VI

BIBLIOGRAPHY

One of the by-products of the Great War has been a flood of books and magazine articles. They vary greatly in viewpoint and value. The following brief list is selected with a view to the needs of those in our churches who are likely to make use of the Suggestive Questions in this Appendix as a basis for discussion and "group thinking." Each member of such a group might be asked to secure from the library and look through for the benefit of the class three or four of these volumes. The order is chronological.

A. The Christian's Attitude Toward War

"What Makes a Nation Great?" (120 pp.), Frederick Lynch, 1914.
"Christ or Napoleon" (96 pp.), Peter Ainslie, 1915.
"The Higher Patriotism" (72 pp.), John Grier Hibben, 1915.
"Is Christianity Practicable?" (240 pp.), Wm. Adams Brown, 1916.
"The World and the Gospel" (222 pp.), J. H. Oldham, 1916.
"What the War Is Teaching" (218 pp.), Chas. E. Jefferson, 1916.
"The Challenge of the Present Crisis" (99 pp.), Harry Emerson Fosdick, 1917.
"The Christian Man, the Church and the War" (105 pp.), Robert E. Speer, 1918.
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